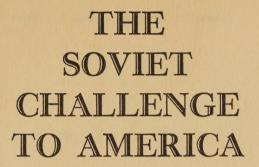




THE SOVIET CHALLENGE TO AMERICA

ALSO BY GEORGE S. COUNTS THE AMERICAN ROAD TO CULTURE



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THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

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ABOUT THE AUTHOR

GEORGE SYLVESTER COUNTS was born in Baldwin City, Kansas in 1889. He was educated at Baker University and at the University of Chicago. From 1916 until 1927 he was, successively, head of the department of education at Delaware College, Newark; professor of educational sociology at Harris Teachers College, St. Louis; professor of secondary education at the University of Washington; professor of education at Yale University; and professor of education at the University of Chicago. Since 1927 Dr. Counts has been associate director of the International Institute and professor of education in Teachers College, Columbia University. He served as special investigator of education in the Philippines in 1927, and in Russia in 1927 and 1929.

Dr. Counts is the author of several previously published volumes, among them: The American Road to Culture, The Selective Character of American Secondary Education, The Senior High School Curriculum, The Social Composition of Boards of Education, Secondary Education and Industrialism, School and Society in Chicago, Principles of Education (with J. C. Chapman), and Education in Soviet Russia (in Soviet Russia in the Second Decade). He is also editor of The New Education in the Soviet Republic, by A. P. Pinkevitch.



FOREWORD

THE economic depression which, as I write these lines, continues to hold the entire Western world in its grip, depriving millions of men of employment and bringing misery to vast populations, has revealed grave weaknesses in the contemporary industrial order and has turned the minds of economists and statesmen everywhere to the question of social planning. Although we in America at least possess a mastery over the forces of production which should enable us to satisfy all of our material wants with ease, multitudes go hungry and experience all the terrors and humiliations of profound physical insecurity. This is tragedy: not because men have not suffered before, but because they now suffer so needlessly. The dreams of mankind through the ages are at last capable of realization, but our present economic, educational, and political leadership has thus far failed to rise to the opportunity created by science and technology. A general condition of incoordination paralyzes the economic system and dissipates its matchless energies.

The world today is full of social experimentation. There is one experiment, however, that dwarfs all others—so

bold indeed in its ideals and its program that few can contemplate it without emotion. Because of the clouds of passion which still envelop it, there is serious danger that its most revolutionary, though least sensational, features may escape adequate notice. Soviet Russia is endeavoring with all the resources at her command to bring the economic order under a measure of rational control. She may fail in the attempt, but in the meantime every student of human affairs should follow the effort with breathless interest. She issues to the Western nations and particularly to the United States a challenge—perhaps one of the greatest challenges of history. But she issues it not through the Communist International, nor through the Red Army, nor through the Gay-Pay-OO (political police), as most of our citizens naïvely and timorously believe, but through her State Planning Commission and her system of public education.

In the present volume I have endeavored to present this challenge as clearly and unequivocally as possible. At no point have I sought to appease American prejudices or feed American vanities. Too long have we looked out upon the world through the deceptive glasses of utter complacency; too long have we thanked God that we are not like other nations. Only mischief can come from reports of Soviet Russia that keep attention centered on the more melodramatic and in all probability the more ephemeral aspects of the experiment; only further mis-

understanding can arise from the common practice in high places of dismissing the whole matter with a few smart phrases, as if it were a brawl of drunken men. The Russian revolutionary movement flows out of the very vitals of society and is wrestling with certain of the most fundamental problems of industrial civilization. It consequently possesses far greater strength than is apparent on the surface. In these pages I have tried to reveal what seems to me to be the inner source of its power.

Materials for the study have been secured from sources too numerous to mention. Since 1917 I have followed the course of the revolution in the literature. In 1927 I spent approximately three months in Soviet Russia traveling extensively by railroad, visiting institutions of many kinds, and engaging citizens from all walks of life in conversation. Two years later I returned to Russia and remained seven months. On this occasion I took a Ford car into the country and during July, August, September, and October, drove approximately six thousand miles through the European part of the Union, from Leningrad across the Caucasus Mountains and from Odessa to Nizhni Novgorod and regions beyond. I shaped the route myself and motored entirely alone for about a thousand miles. The major object of the journey was to see at first hand the new construction which was supposed to be under way. It was an illuminating and thrilling experience.

In pursuing my inquiries in Soviet Russia I was greatly

aided by Mrs. N. K. Krupskaia, head of the Department of Political Education in the Commissariat of Education in Moscow; Professor Albert Pinkevitch, President of the Second State University of Moscow; Professor M. S. Bernstein of the Institute of School Methods in Moscow; Mr. M. L. Astermann of the Gosplan, Moscow; Mr. J. I. Zilberfarb, head of the Pedagogical Section of the Ukrainian Society for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries; Mr. Alexander Morozov, head of Soviet Party School in Arzamas, and Mr. V. G. Kirov, director of the Bureau of Lectures at the Commissariat of Education in Moscow.

I also had one or more helpful interviews with each of the following persons: M. A. Alexinsky, head of the Planning Department of Narkompros,² Moscow; A. I. Berdnikov of the Gosplan in Moscow; N. M. Chudnovsky, editor of the Red Student; N. G. Efimov of the Ukrainian Gosplan in Kharkov; M. S. Epstein of the Department of Social Education of Narkompros, Moscow; G. I. Gorbachenko, editor of Leningrad Student, Leningrad; G. F. Grinko, vice-president of the Gosplan in Moscow; V. N. Kasatkin of the Planning Department of Narkompros, Moscow; M. A. Kattel of the Ukrainian Gosplan in Kharkov; B. M. Kazansky of the Second State University of Moscow; A. I. Kazigras of the Cinema Bureau of Narkompros, Moscow; A. Khalatov, head of the State Publishing House in Moscow; M. V. Krupenina of the Institute

¹ State Planning Commission. ² Commissariat of Education.

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of School Methods in Moscow; M. Y. Lapirov-Skoblov of the Supreme Economic Council in Moscow; A. V. Lunarcharsky, former Commissar of Education, Moscow; I. K. Luppol, head of the Department of Science of Narkompros, Moscow; I. G. Nikiforov of the Union of Teachers, Moscow; V. N. Panfilov of the Planning Department of Narkompros, Moscow; M. M. Pistrak of the Department of Social Education of Narkompros, Moscow; A. A. Peskin of the Planning Department of Narkompros, Moscow; F. F. Raskolnikov, head of the Department of Art of Narkompros, Moscow; A. Severianova, head of the Central Bureau of the Children's Communistic Organization of Lenin; S. T. Shatsky, head of the First Experimental Station in Public Education, Moscow; V. N. Shulgin, head of the Institute of School Methods in Moscow; I. V. Ustinov of Narkompros, Moscow; A. Y. Vishinsky, head of the Department of Professional Education of Narkompros, Moscow; N. F. Yanitzky, director of Knizhnaia Palata in Moscow; A. J. Zaks, head of the Excursion Base in Moscow; A. Zalkind, Professor of Pedology in the Second University of Moscow; A. S. Zaluzhny of the Institute of Pedagogy, Kharkov. Among others interviewed were representatives of the theater, the radio, the post and telegraph, the library, artists, teachers, trade unions, and the Red Army.

On this side of the water I am indebted first of all to the International Institute of Teachers College, Columbia

University, for making both trips to Russia possible; then to Professor Sidney Hook of New York University who liquidated some small fraction of my illiteracy in the sphere of dialectical materialism; and finally to Mrs. Nucia P. Lodge, research assistant in the International Institute, for help of many kinds. Being herself of Russian birth and having a perfect knowledge of the language, she proved invaluable in going through a vast amount of the literature consulted in the study. Also she has visited Russia three times for extended periods since the revolution and has accumulated a great body of information which lies beyond the reach of the foreign inquirer. Much of the latest material used in this volume she secured on her last trip to the country during the summer of 1930. Arriving in Leningrad on the 30th of June she traveled as far south as the Crimea and made numerous observations along the way. She sailed from Leningrad on the 13th of September. I also found Mr. M. Mendelson of the Information Bureau of the Amtorg Trading Corporation in New York City a very valuable source of knowledge.

The statistics used in the present work are taken from Soviet sources. Since the accuracy of these sources has often been questioned by foreign observers, I naturally regret that there was no way of checking them. To set up a census bureau of my own, however, was quite impossible. Personally I believe that the Soviet statistics are

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as accurate as the Russian statisticians can make them and that they are becoming more accurate every year. They provide the foundation on which the entire program of construction rests. If they are falsified, then the whole experiment is dishonest and there is no possibility of Communist success. Under the circumstances it would be the height of folly for us to seek any comfort whatsoever in the alleged inaccuracy of the Soviet accounts. They may be inaccurate, but we would do well to assume them accurate until the contrary is proved. No wise man ever underestimates the strength of his adversary.

GEORGE S. COUNTS

New York,
December 5, 1930



PART ONE BUILDING A NEW SOCIETY

We must strive in the shortest possible historical period to overtake and surpass the most advanced capitalistic countries and thus insure the victory of socialism in its historic competition with the system of capitalism—FROM A RESOLUTION OF THE FIFTEENTH CONFERENCE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY.

This means that by 1943, in the event of the peaceful development of the country, we shall surpass the level of industrial production achieved in the United States of America in 1929 and shall overtake, if we do not significantly surpass, the current level of technical equipment of industry in that country.

—FROM "THE SOVIET UNION THROUGH FIFTEEN YEARS," BY SABSOVITCH, MEMBER OF THE ALL-UNION STATE PLANNING COMMISSION.

CHAPTER I

TO SURPASS AMERICA

THE most sublime of human epics record, not the furious clash of contending armies, but the silent struggle for mastery of rival institutions; the most profound of human dramas depict, not the onward march of conquering legions, but the upward surge of new ideas. Although the modern battlefield, served by the twin sciences of physics and chemistry, may bring bodily mutilation and death to millions, the competition of social systems may determine the spiritual destinies of whole nations and establish the mental pattern for a succession of generations. Indeed, such a competition may hold in the balance the inner lives of men and even the very gods they worship.

That the revolutionary movement which overthrew the rule of the tsars may be thus affecting the numerous and heterogeneous populations inhabiting the Soviet Union is already entirely obvious to the most casual observer; but that it may ultimately leave a deep impress on the other peoples of the earth is rarely considered as a serious pos-

sibility by the intellectual and prosperous classes of Western Europe and America. They are wont to regard Bolshevism either as a loathsome disease induced by the cruelties of an unenlightened despotism or as a hideous nightmare caused by the shocks and sufferings of war. In both cases they complacently assume that nothing permanent or substantial can eventuate from the Russian experiment. While generations will have to come and go before that experiment can be accurately appraised in all of its departments, quite possibly the stage is being set for one of the most stupendous acts of history—the open and conscious competition between two radically different social systems. Christendom may be facing its most severe test since the disciples of Islam carried the crescent through the outer gates of Europe. That this competition may be peaceful should be the devout wish of all who feel any concern whatsoever regarding the future of mankind.

If the competition is to be peaceful, the facts in the situation must be faced with intelligence and understanding and charity by the citizens of capitalistic countries. Whatever one's attitude may be towards the theoretic doctrines of communism, the Soviet government can no longer be ignored or treated in the cavalier manner affected by the Western nations and, particularly, by the United States. The time is past when men can ridicule the Communist and caricature him as a long-haired, bewhiskered, uncouth, half-crazed, vicious-minded ignoramus, certain to make a

failure of everything he undertakes and bent on destroying civilization. While, on the other hand, he is no angel of mercy bestowing alms and smiles on the sons and daughters of men, he is at home in the modern world and is animated by a vision of unquestioned power.

The builders of the new Russia may be misguided in their estimate of human nature and their interpretation of history, but they cannot be said to lack ability, honesty, courage, or consecration. Moreover, their achievements to date are enormous and they seem to possess a large capacity for learning. For thirteen years they have weathered the severest storms that war, revolution, and famine can brew, and have gained strength and confidence on the way. They would seem to belong therefore to a sturdy race and to have been trained in a hard school. Men who have lived perpetually in close communion with death are not easily frightened or disheartened. And now a federation of peoples, which fondly calls itself the "first workers' republic of history," appears to be moving through suffering and hardship, but from victory to victory, to a position of unsurpassed power among the nations of the earth. Perhaps the Russian giant of the legends is at last awake and beginning to flex his muscles in preparation for the labors of the day.

The Soviet leaders are keenly aware already of their potential strength and of the challenge which their experiment holds. Indeed they glory in it: they shout it

from their housetops; they expound it in their press; they advertise it on their banners; they propagate it in their schools; they represent it in their pageantry; they sing of it in their songs; they immortalize it in their art. The Communist Party, at its Fifteenth Conference in 1926, passed the famous resolution: We must strive in the shortest possible historical period to overtake and surpass the most advanced capitalistic countries and thus insure the victory of socialism in its historic competition with the system of capitalism.

This pronouncement, which is often shortened to read To surpass America, has become the most moving and revealing slogan of the entire revolutionary movement. It is being repeated today with a religious fervor all over the Soviet Union and wherever in the whole wide world Communists gather together. Its sentiments are being applauded not only in Moscow and Kharkov and Tiflis, but also in Berlin, in Paris, in London, in New York, in Chicago, in San Francisco, in Tokyo, in Shanghai, in Calcutta, in Teheran, and in Constantinople. To millions belonging to the under-privileged races and classes of the earth, who have felt themselves ground beneath the iron heel of an imperialistic capitalism, it is a sign hung in the firmament of history, presaging the dawn of a better day.

Planning the Social Order. To the ordinary substantial citizen of capitalistic countries, whose life is led within the narrow boundaries of his class, this challenge seems

the height of impertinence: the chasm between condition and aspiration is so wide. But whether it is an impertinence or not may well depend upon the potentialities resident in social planning. In the societies of the West in general and in the United States of America in particular the evolution of institutions proceeds for the most part without plan or design, as a sort of by-product of the selfish competition of individuals, groups, and enterprises for private gain. In Russia, on the other hand, since the days of 1917, the Soviet government has sought to promote the rational and orderly development of the entire social economy. And today, after more than a decade of experience unique in human history, the revolutionary forces seem to be engaged on an ever-mounting scale in the deliberate fashioning of a new society. In the great Five-Year Plan of Construction, which was launched in October of 1928, and which runs to October of 1933, a whole civilization is harnessing its energies and is on the march towards consciously determined goals.

The launching of this great plan was generally hailed in Western Europe and America with ridicule and derision. The program outlined was so gigantic and the country seemed so like a ne'er-do-well among the nations that the whole undertaking appeared to be an occasion either for laughter or for weeping, according to the point of view, but not for sober study and thought. Some, no doubt, concluded that the Communists had at last aban-

doned their serious rôle and had decided to put on a farce for the entertainment of the world. Many others, certainly, regarded the plan as political rather than economic in purpose and an eleventh-hour bid for popular support by a tottering régime.

According to this last interpretation, the Soviet government, having consumed the savings accumulated under the capitalistic institutions of the empire (presumably the only institutions under which savings can be accumulated), and then having reduced the peasants, the sole important surviving capitalistic elements in the country, to the most extreme poverty, found itself on the verge of complete moral and political bankruptcy; and in order to avert disaster, or rather to postpone the evil day, bethought itself of the Five-Year Plan and the dramatic challenge to capitalism. A further assumption made by these observers was that as soon as the people became aware of the hoax which had been played upon them, and this would not be long, the Soviet leaders would seek a quarrel with a neighboring country and thus place the onus of failure on other shoulders. In fact the trouble over the Chinese Eastern Railway which became acute in July, 1929, was so interpreted at the time by numerous students of international affairs. If this view is correct, the success of the deception has certainly far surpassed the anticipation!

To those who have not visited the Soviet Union such an explanation would seem to be within the realm of pos-

sibility. Indeed, it would no doubt appear entirely credible to those uncritical travelers who, while visiting the "first workers' republic," actually remain at home.1 Such persons, equipped with a neat package of stereotypes inherited from their ancestors or absorbed from the social atmosphere of America, speak glibly of human nature and unwittingly measure everything by standards derived from their own society. In festive mood and complacent temper they trip gayly eastward across the Polish border on the lookout for comfort, culture, and efficiency. In their eyes a Soviet challenge to the advanced nations of the West and especially to the United States must of necessity take on the guise of either a fanatical gesture or a confession of despair. The thought that a country, however vast in extent and resources, which is only just teaching its people the alphabet, which still stands with its feet in the mires of an unenlightened feudalism, which repudiates the very foundations of European civilization, and which, after a revolution waged thirteen years before in the name of bread for the masses, continues to issue rationing cards to the population, should challenge the most powerful of nations to competition in the production of material things seems the very height of incongruity and even of madness.

¹ The most uncritical travelers to Soviet Russia, by the way, are not those who visit the country with the firm resolve not to be bamboozled. All too often such persons never actually enter the Union. Psychologically they remain in their own culture and are in much the same position as the Christian missionaries who first traveled among the pagans.

In the course of the historical process, however, the incredible is continually happening. This seems to be due to the fact that we live, not in a world of pure mechanism, but in a world of emergent evolution: a world in which it is easy to trace causal relationships backward into the past but difficult to trace them forward into the future. There is a certain dynamic quality in social life and the affairs of men which makes prediction always hazardous and which renders impossible the accurate gauging of the potentialities of the forces of the present. We know of a certainty that some factors in the situation will wax and become more powerful and that others will wane and pass out of the picture; but we are never able to determine beyond a reasonable doubt into which category a particular factor will be placed by the onward sweep of events. Even the most rash of prophets must admit that, when the final reckoning is made, life may show that certain forces which he thought would be decisive left scarcely a trace upon the record and that others which he failed to observe altogether actually shaped the course of things. Ideas are among the most dynamic elements in human culture; and the Russian revolution has released ideas, as have very few of the social convulsions of history. Perhaps some of those ideas, when grown to full stature, will prove to be great ideas; perhaps the revolutionary movement contains the seeds of changes which will affect institutions throughout the world and send reverberations of

increasing volume down the corridors of the centuries. Who can tell? It has happened before; it may happen again.

The Contrast With America. In spite of their extraordinary achievements in the conquest of nature, the American people lack the machinery necessary for controlling the vast economic structure which they have fashioned; they are compelled therefore to think in terms of prediction. Since they are unable to direct the course of events, they must content themselves simply with wondering and guessing what is going to happen. Needless to say, unlimited indulgence in this game of chance is full of hazards. A contrast will make the point clear. In the Autumn of 1929 there occurred a crash on the New York Stock Exchange which rocked the financial structure of the whole world. Although anticipated and predicted in some quarters for months, it took the great body of the American people quite unawares. They had been told repeatedly in the preceding years by their most trusted servants that they were the chosen people of God and that prosperity was a permanent condition among them. On the very eve of the catastrophe a great economist issued a statement to the effect that the country was enjoying sound health, that the values of securities were too low, and that stocks might be expected to rise indefinitely. Then after the first disaster, which was merely a prelude to the main movement on the economic stage, at least once every week for the

following twelve months some prominent statesman or captain of industry, from the President of the United States down, gave an interview to the press in which he said that the bottom of the depression had been reached and that conditions would soon begin to improve.

All of these predictions proved to be false and were often followed by fresh calamities which made the prophets appear in an increasingly ridiculous rôle. Nobody knew what would happen and society possessed no machinery for dealing with the situation. As a consequence, the great leaders of the nation resorted to the methods of the shaman or medicine man of a savage tribe in the presence of an earthquake. They told the people that if they would just be courageous, if they would only believe in themselves and the soundness of their institutions, if they would prostrate themselves before the great god Prosperity and perform the appropriate genuflexions, if they would repeat every night on going to bed the magic formula that conditions were beginning to improve, then their economic structure would right itself and they would prosper again. This experience suggests the observation that when American society is struck by an industrial depression it seems as helpless as a canoe in a typhoon. And the depression itself takes on the character of a great cataclysm of nature.

In the socialistic state which is maturing in Soviet Russia a radically different principle is being applied. It is as-

sumed that social phenomena are capable of being controlled and that the development of society can be made subject to the human will. Although the Communists have found themselves plunged into crisis after crisis during the past thirteen years, they have never been content to bow down before events and pray for the return of better times. On the contrary, through instrumentalities which are gradually being fashioned, they have wrestled boldly with every economic disturbance and sought to force it into submission. That success has not always attended their efforts is certainly true, yet the evidence indicates that they make fewer mistakes than formerly and are slowly and painfully learning how to operate the machinery of control.

During the last quarter of the second year of the Five-Year Plan, industrial production lagged so dangerously that many foreign observers expected to see the entire program break down. But the situation was diagnosed, the appropriate remedy was applied, production increased steadily from week to week, and the revolutionary movement scored another brilliant victory. Such a display of power through the exercise of intelligence and the mobilization of social resources merits thorough examination. Unless capitalistic states show equal ability in organizing their energies at critical moments, they can scarcely hope to survive in competition with other forms of society. They cannot go on forever finding excuses in the time-

worn formulæ of business cycles and overproduction. In days when unemployment grows and hunger stalks the streets, it is neither satisfying nor convincing to be told that too many things have been produced. The Soviet experiment may fail, but if it does, it will not fail because of its system of planning and economic coördination.

In the Autumn of 1930 there issued from the Soviet press a little volume entitled, The Story of the Great Plan. This booklet of one hundred and seventy-five pages was written by Ilin, a well-known author of children's literature, and was designed to explain to boys and girls in the schools, not only the purpose of the Five-Year Plan and what it means to their country, but also to acquaint them with the nature and advantages of a planned economy. In the first chapter, which is called "Two Countries," the Soviet Union and the United States are contrasted. A selection in this chapter under the caption, "What Happens When They Work Without a Plow," merits quotation in full:

Mr. Fox acquires money—one million dollars. But money must not remain idle. Mr. Fox looks through newspapers, he consults his friends, he employs agents. From morning till night his agents comb the city, look about, and make inquiries. What is to be done with the money of Mr. Fox?

Finally a business is found. Hats! That is

what one should make. Hats go well, people get rich.

There is nothing to hesitate about. Mr. Fox builds a hat factory.

The same idea occurs at the same time to Mr. Pox, and Mr. Crox, and Mr. Nox. And they all begin to build hat factories simultaneously.

Within half a year there are several new hat factories in the country. Shops are filled to the ceiling with hat boxes. Store rooms are bursting with them. Everywhere there are posters, signs, advertisements: HATS, HATS, HATS. A great many more hats are made than are needed—twice as many, three times as many. And the factories continue to work at full speed.

And here something happens that neither Mr. Fox, nor Mr. Pox, nor Mr. Nox, nor Mr. Crox anticipated. The public stops buying hats. Mr. Nox lowers his prices 20 cents, Mr. Crox 40 cents; Mr. Fox sells hats at a loss in order to get rid of them.

But business grows worse and worse.

In all of the papers advertisements appear: YOU MAY HAVE BUT ONE HEAD, BUT THAT DOES NOT MEAN AT ALL THAT YOU SHOULD WEAR ONLY ONE HAT. EVERY AMERICAN SHOULD HAVE THREE HATS. BUY THE HATS OF MR. FOX!

Mr. Pox offers to sell hats on a three-year installment plan. Mr. Nox announces a sale:

ONLY FOR ONE DAY! TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THIS OPPORTUNITY!

But this does not help. Mr. Fox lowers the wages of his workers one dollar a week. Mr. Crox lowers the wages two dollars a week. Again business grows worse and worse.

All at once—STOP! Mr. Fox closes his factory. Two thousand workers are discharged and permitted to go wherever they please. The following day the factory of Mr. Nox stops. In a week practically all hat factories are standing idle. Thousands of workers are without work. New machines grow rusty. Buildings are sold for wreckage.

A year or two pass. The hats bought from Nox, Fox, Pox, and Crox wear out. The public once more begins to buy hats. Hat stores become empty. From the top shelves dusty cartons are taken down. There are not enough hats. Prices on hats go up.

And now, not Mr. Fox, but a certain Mr. Doodle thinks of a profitable business—the building of a hat factory. But the same idea also enters the heads of other wise and business-like people—Mr. Boodle, Mr. Foodle, and Mr. Noodle. And the old story begins over again.

The experience with hats is repeated with shoes, with sugar, with pig iron, with coal, with kerosene. Factories are blown up like soap bubbles and burst. One would think that people had lost their minds.

TO SURPASS AMERICA

In this booklet, which is now being read by boys and girls from the Baltic to the Pacific, may be found the real Soviet Challenge to America. Although its pages abound in comparisons between the social systems of the two countries, it is written in excellent temper from beginning to end and indulges in extravagant praise of American machinery and technology. Indeed it seems to exaggerate somewhat both our virtues and our vices. It centers attention primarily, however, on the gigantic effort which Russia is making to lift herself into the modern world. It speaks in simple yet graphic language of the heroic labors involved in the realization of the Great Plan, in the conquest of water and wind and soil, in the war with vast distances and cultural backwardness, in the struggle to develop great industries and raise the efficiency of agriculture, in the attempt to build a new society and bring the opportunities of life to all. Its appeal is genuine and passionate; and its message is saturated with the ideas of social planning.

CHAPTER II

THE CONTROLLING IDEAS

THE major provisions of the Five-Year Plan and the rôle which educational institutions are playing in their fulfillment constitute the primary theme of the present volume. This particular manifestation of the revolutionary movement, however, cannot be understood apart from those conditions which produced it and which continue to direct its course. Apparently only certain kinds of societies are able to generate and follow comprehensive plans of development. In the absence of a set of clearly defined guiding purposes, effective political machinery, competent planning organs, and some dependable means of changing the habits and dispositions of the population, no state can hope to shape its future successfully. A brief examination of the controlling ideas, the revolutionary order, the state planning commission, and the system of public education will reveal the mechanism through which the Soviet government is striving to build a socialistic state.

Obviously, if a society is not merely to grow in response

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to the interaction of its several parts and to the play of various external forces upon it, a deliberate effort must be made to fashion its development in the light of certain controlling ideas. While considerable disagreement regarding the content of the entire stock of ideas which guide the architects of the new social order in Soviet Russia is inevitable, the existence of the ideas cannot be questioned. Five great concepts occupy such a dominant position in the revolutionary movement that no list could be regarded as complete without them. These are: dialectical materialism, collectivism, equality of nationalities, equality of the sexes, industrialization.

To characterize these ideas adequately in a short chapter is, of course, utterly impossible. On the other hand, to give more space to them would be scarcely permissible, because the emphasis in the present work lies elsewhere. The alternative to leaving them out altogether, an entirely indefensible procedure, is to present them in a highly abbreviated form. Consequently, although the account presented here leaves much to be desired, an effort will be made to give the reader some notion of the ideological limits within which the new society is to be constructed and the goals towards which the revolutionary forces are purposely tending.

Dialectical Materialism. The most fundamental of the great ideas guiding the actions of the Soviet leaders is dialectical materialism. Following the inspiration and

leadership of Karl Marx and his disciples, the Russian Communists reject the ancient dualism of mind and body, spirit and matter, God and nature, and stoutly affirm their faith in the essential unity of all things. They also reject every system of thought that seeks to explain the realm of nature in terms of the creative activity of some outside spiritual force or power, whether it be personal deity or abstract idea. To them matter is the foundation of all existence, and the external world rather than the data of individual consciousness is the fundamental reality. They hold that all phenomena are manifestations of one basic substance in process and that even life and mind are but functions of certain extremely delicate and complex forms of matter. The difference between the loftiest and the lowliest orders of existence is a difference in organization: there is but one sphere of being. There is no God, no supernatural realm, no world of pure spirit. In the words of Engels, "matter is not a product of mind, but mind itself is only the highest product of matter." The Communists believe that the universe of nature is selfsufficient.

This rejection of all forms of supernaturalism and metaphysical idealism, however, represents but one side of their view of the world. Having accepted materialism, Marx sought to avoid a purely mechanistic and fatalistic interpretation and to make provision for the effective operation of the human mind in society. The result was

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the adoption and elaboration of the theory of dialectical materialism which, as someone has said, is materialism modified by an evolutionary dialectic. According to this doctrine, as a result of the struggle of the organism with the environment, new qualities or functions may appear in the evolutionary process—qualities and functions which in their turn become creative forces in the realm of material reality. Thus sensation, thought, and ideas, though derived from and a part of the world of nature, are capable nevertheless of initiating change. Marx quarreled with the Utopian socialists, not because they placed confidence in the efficacy of ideas, but rather because their ideas lacked a natural basis and a genuine connection with life. He contended that ideas, to be effective, must give expression to the desires and aspirations of some particular social class. If not so related they are at best but the sterile flowers of the human spirit.

Applied to the evolution of culture, dialectical materialism gives the economic interpretation of history: "The ultimate cause and great moving power of all important historic events is the economic development of society, changes in the modes of production and exchange." The assumption here is that human behavior in the mass and over relatively long periods of time will be determined by economic forces and the methods whereby men gain their livelihood. This means further that with the appearance of the more complicated economic systems and particularly

with the rise of capitalism, society becomes divided into classes based upon the possession of property. And since, according to Marx, being determines consciousness, rather than the reverse, each class, in response to the conditions that impinge upon it, develops an appropriate philosophy to guard and advance its interests: the proletariat are driven to communism or some form of collectivism, while the bourgeoisie extol the virtues of private property, individual initiative, and laissez faire. The certain consequence is a bitter struggle between labor and capital, between the toiling masses and the privileged few—a struggle in which the masses, because of their overwhelming numbers, will ultimately be victorious throughout the world.

On first examination such an abstract philosophical conception as dialectical materialism would seem to be very remote from the task of building a new society. An American citizen, because of his congenital scorn of theory, might even argue that the desired social structure could be erected quite as easily on entirely different intellectual foundations. He would impatiently ask, Why all this pother about God and nature and the ultimate constitution of the universe? and then perhaps he would suggest that the revolutionists, by showing concern over these matters, are merely wasting their time and increasing their difficulties.

To the Communists such a viewpoint gives evidence of

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either mental laziness or hypocrisy, or both. They argue with much spirit that only on the solid rock of dialectical materialism will it ever be possible to construct a social order dedicated to the welfare of the masses. They contend that since the rise of the earliest civilizations one ruling class after another has sought and obtained supernatural sanction for its privileges; that the priest has ever been ready for a consideration to sprinkle holy water over the instruments of exploitation; and that the Christian Church in particular, with its doctrines of humility and immortality, has kept the people from revolt against intolerable wrongs. According to their view of history, religion everywhere has placed the stamp of divine approval on innumerable forms of social injustice, served to perpetuate the blackest superstition, tended to close the mind to scientific inquiry, and made the masses content to live and die in misery. To them "religion is the opiate of the people." On the other hand, materialism in their opinion will strike age-long shackles from the human mind, stimulate the will to action, recognize "human self-consciousness as the supreme divinity," and imbue men with the daring necessary to conquer the universe. And only a militant atheism will create a proletariat sufficiently fearless and self-confident to fashion a society according to the ideals of the revolution.

The materialism of the Communists has yet another practical implication. In building the new social order

they place their trust in science. So pronounced and widespread is this particular faith that science might well be regarded as one of the controlling ideas of the revolutionary movement rather than merely as a corollary of materialism. The point should be made, however, that their interest in science is purely instrumental. Science does not set the purposes for which men should strive; on the contrary it is merely the chief means by which those purposes are to be achieved and is commonly contrasted with religion as a tool for controlling the course of events in the natural world. In Soviet Russia science is made to serve life and, one might add, the interests of the working class.

Collectivism. From the standpoint of the actual construction of the new society the most important of the five controlling ideas is collectivism. In fact this idea occupies such a central position in the revolutionary movement that the men and women who came into power in October, 1917, are generally known as Communists. Consequently, if the revolution is successful the social order which is emerging today in Soviet Russia will first of all be collectivistic. In its essence this means that the institution of private property, at least in so far as it applies to land and the tools of production, will be abolished. It also means that no individual will be able to acquire great wealth, that the motive of personal gain will cease to drive the wheels of the economic order, that the senseless competition in the

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conspicuous consumption of goods will come to an end, and that land, railroads, factories, mills, shops, houses, and natural resources will be owned collectively and administered in the interests of all.

Such an ideal state has been the dream of poets and prophets through the centuries, but here for the first time in history men are striving on a gigantic scale and in systematic fashion to make the dream come true. Whether the reality will bear any resemblance to the vision is a question which only time can answer.

The major object of this devotion to collectivism is the abolition of classes based upon property and the establishment of a condition of relative equality among men. Even in a modern democracy the ideal of social and political equality can scarcely be realized so long as the institution of private property provides the foundations for poverty and riches and colossal differences in wealth and income. Where the ownership of vast stores of capital enables a single individual practically to control the lives and destinies of scores, hundreds, thousands, or even hundreds of thousands of his fellow men, the much-vaunted right to vote may become a privilege of doubtful value. A social order, designed to preclude the exploitation of one man by another through the exercise of economic power, is the most fundamental of the goals which the Soviet leaders have set themselves. The desire to create a classless society lies at the root of their attack on private property, their program of collectivization, and their repudiation of the profit motive.

The ideal of collectivism has naturally fostered an intense glorification of labor. In a society that has abolished private property labor is the only socially respected means of livelihood. And every individual, not suffering from some mental or physical infirmity, will be expected to participate in some form of socially useful activity. All others will fall outside the pale of respectability and will be deprived of the rights of citizenship. At the present time, probably because of the large rôle played by the industrial workers in the revolutionary struggle, manual labor occupies a peculiarly exalted position. This condition, however, should not be regarded as a permanent expression of the collectivistic ideal. Eventually all kinds of labor, provided they are socially useful, will enjoy equal prestige.

Equality of Nationalities. The third great idea which serves to guide the building of the new society is a certain form of internationalism. Though confined for the present within the limits of the old Russian Empire, the revolutionary movement is international in its outlook. Its leaders are constantly thinking in terms of a world order. One of the central tenets of their faith is that revolution in various other countries is imminent and that the victorious march of the proletariat will not halt until all lands and all peoples are brought into one vast union of soviet re-

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publics. Regarding the dates when these great social upheavals will take place and the measure of significance that should be attached to them in determining present policy, there are of course wide differences of opinion. The Communists, however, are all agreed that the Soviet Union should be regarded as the spiritual homeland of the toiling masses everywhere and as the champion of the interests of the oppressed peoples throughout the world. They hope and believe that their social theory will ultimately triumph and that all the races of men will be brought together into a single classless society.

Already the principle of the equality of nationalities is being given a challenging expression in the construction of the new society within the boundaries of the present Union. Soviet Russia now embraces almost one-sixth of the land surface of the globe and the most diverse nationalities and races. On the basis of geography, ethnography, and historical tradition this huge area is divided into seven constituent republics and a large number of subordinate political units which exercise varying measures of autonomy. Although the one hundred and eighty-two different peoples inhabiting the Union exhibit the widest range of cultural development, they are all regarded as theoretically equal. The traveler from America cannot fail to be impressed by the extent to which the spirit of racial and national equality seems to permeate the ranks of the revolutionary movement.

The nature of the sentiment regarding race and nationality which is being fostered within the Soviet Union was revealed in an incident which received world-wide attention in the summer of 1930. Two white American workers took exception to the presence of an American negro in a special dining hall for foreign technicians in Stalingrad. In expressing their antipathy they first insulted and then assaulted him. The case was at once taken up by the Soviet authorities and was made the subject of demonstrations on the part of labor organizations from one end of the Union to the other. The conclusion of the matter is thus reported in the issue of Pravda for August 28: "Upon securing proof that Lewis and Brown had attacked Robinson because of race hatred, the court first recommended that the two offenders be deprived of their freedom for two years. However, after taking into consideration the fact that they had been inoculated with race hatred by the capitalistic system of exploiting the lower races, the court softened the sentence to deportation and exclusion from the Soviet Union for a period of ten years." The verdict of the court was accepted as just, not only by the Communists, but also by the population generally.

The avowed policy of the Soviet government of permitting and even of actively encouraging each minority, however small or backward, to develop its own literature and cultural possessions appears to be honestly and vig-

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orously enforced. Thus the relatively primitive peoples inhabiting the northern country from Finland to the Bering Sea are being protected from the exploitation of the Slav and guaranteed the continued possession of their lands and resources. Since 1917 the languages of numerous races have been set to writing for the first time; and in the conduct of its schools each people is expected to select its own teachers and carry on instruction in its own tongue. The point should be made, however, that the effort to moderate and abolish the antipathies between different racial and national groups has been attended by the definite and conscious aggravation of the conflict between classes. The Communists maintain of course that they champion the principle of class conflict merely as a means to an end and that their ultimate goal is the complete abolition of classes and the establishment of a general condition of brotherhood among all the peoples of the earth. According to their theory of society there will grow out of a homogeneous economic and political soil the greatest variety of cultures.

Equality of the Sexes. In the new society the position of woman presumably will be greatly changed. The Communists contend that everywhere woman, along with the working classes and the culturally retarded races, has been the victim of severe exploitation. They argue that there is justification neither in biology nor in ethics for the tradition that woman's sphere should be limited to house-

keeping and the rearing of children. Therefore they would build a social order in which woman is given the same freedom of choice with regard to her social destiny that man has commonly enjoyed in the past.

The rigorous application of this principle will naturally involve fundamental changes in the home and the family and the extension of vocational opportunities equally to both sexes. New provisions for the care of children, new arrangements for housekeeping, and new programs for the occupational training of women will have to be devised. Crèches, nursery schools, and kindergartens consequently form a definite part of the Soviet educational system; and already great numbers of girls and young women are being trained as blacksmiths, mechanics, carpenters, technicians, and engineers. A new society is envisaged in which every individual, regardless of sex, will be permitted to follow the calling to which he or she is naturally attracted. That the social, economic, and political differences between the sexes, which are known to history, are mainly the product of circumstance is confidently assumed.

Industrialization. The fifth and last of the great ideas which control the fashioning of the new order is that of industrialization. This idea, however, differs somewhat from the other four in that it seems to be a means rather than an end. The Communists believe that only a society which manifests the close integration, the marked differentiation, and the intimate interdependence of industrial civ-

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ilization will generate the temper and disposition necessary to the development of the kind of social order which they hope to see take form in the Soviet Union. They are convinced that only in a highly industrialized society will the building of collectivism, the promotion of the international revolutionary movement, and the freeing of woman from the tradition of housekeeping be possible. As a consequence the industrialization of the country is made the central theme of the Five-Year Plan, and the term itself has come to take on an almost magical significance.

The interest of the Soviet leaders in building an industrial society is also implied in their emphatic endorsement of science. They look upon science as the saviour of mankind and would apply the methods of science to the cure of every human ill. Particularly would they erect the economic structure on the foundations of technology. In the light of objective experiment and tested knowledge they would organize all of the processes of production and distribution. The raising of crops, the breeding of animals, the extraction of minerals, the exploitation of forests, the utilization of natural forces, the fabrication of commodities, and the exchange of goods and services would proceed from the findings of science. This merely means that the Soviet government is interested in hastening that process of industrialization which has been transforming Western civilization during the past one hundred and seventy-five years. They hope to crowd into a single

generation those historical movements which required more than a century and a half in England and America. We may even say that they hope to lift a great country from the eighteenth into the latter part of the twentieth century in the short span of thirty years. Such is the faith of materialists in the power of ideas and the strength of the human will!

CHAPTER III

THE REVOLUTIONARY ORDER

N Russia the revolution itself did not build the new I society; it merely cleared the ground for the work of construction. It destroyed the supports of the old régime and shifted political power into new hands. But a shift of political power, unless it is translated into human disposition and social fabric, can have but little meaning. The fashioning of a new society is a slow and prosaic task, requiring not days, months, or years, but decades and even generations. And during this transitional epoch, if the revolutionary movement is to bear the expected fruit, definite provision must be made to hold the movement loyal to its ideals. This is obviously a task of supreme difficulty and uncertainty. As circumstances change, as new personalities emerge, and as the revolutionary energies flag, the direction, as well as the momentum, of social change may be greatly altered. At least this has been the history of the great revolutions of the past.

In order to increase the probability that the ideals of the revolution will be realized, in order to improve the chances that a new society founded on the principles of dialectic materialism, collectivism, equality of nationalities, equality of the sexes and industrialization will rise on the ruins of the old Russian Empire, the Communists have evolved an extremely elaborate and intricate structure which may be called the revolutionary order. The object of this structure is to hold the revolutionary movement true to the revolutionary faith, to keep the power in the hands of those elements of the population which may be counted upon to remain loyal to the revolutionary cause. In a word, the Soviet leaders have created a system of institutions or arrangements designed to build the new society.

The Dictatorship of the Proletariat. At the center of the revolutionary order is the proletariat—the class of manual workers in industry. It was this element in the population that nourished and sustained the doctrines of revolt, that furnished the man-power for the overthrow of the old order, that fought the forces of counter-revolution during the years of civil war, that continued steadfast in the face of famine, starvation, and pestilence, that ever kept the faith in spite of failure, postponement, and disillusionment. To be sure, the poorer peasants have played a supporting rôle throughout and the Soviet government is fond of styling itself a government of workmen and peasants. But in this partnership, as it is commonly called, the city proletariat is the active and leading mem-

ber. In fact, since the days of October, 1917, the Communists have not only admitted but have even gloried in the fact that the present order in Soviet Russia rests upon a dictatorship of the proletariat.

The theory of this dictatorship was developed in great detail by a long line of revolutionary thinkers from Marx to Lenin and Stalin. According to this theory only the proletariat can be trusted with the task of building socialism. The peasantry, however poor it may be, is bred in an individualistic atmosphere and is nurtured on the institutions of private property. The other classes, even underpaid clerks and servants, because of their more intimate associations with the bourgeoisie, tend to identify themselves with the ruling social caste and to acquire a strictly conservative temper. The industrial worker, on the other hand, particularly under the conditions of largescale production, gradually takes on a collectivistic mentality. Propertyless, with no assured source of livelihood, with only his labor between himself and utter want, an inevitable victim of unemployment, sickness, and old age, his very weakness drives him into union with his fellows. Thus the harsh conditions of capitalism generate in him attitudes of mind which stimulate him to struggle for an opposite type of social order. Extreme individualism gives birth to its antithesis, and a social class is formed whose battle cry is "each for all and all for each." The city proletariat is therefore the natural parent and guard-

ian of the fortunes of the revolution. An effort has been made to place this class in power during the period of transition from capitalism to socialism.

The proletariat, however, is not to be trusted altogether. Within its ranks are great numbers of individuals recently come from the village who are either out of sympathy with or uninformed about the revolutionary movement. Then there are many others who, though living for years under the conditions of large-scale production, are either indifferent to the cause of socialism or are lacking in class consciousness. Also there are those elder comrades, beaten in the struggle, who have abandoned hope and have resigned themselves to wait patiently for death and the grave. Like the peasants, these several categories of workmen are scarcely fit trustees of the revolutionary faith. Because of insufficient knowledge, concern, ardor, or steadfastness they must be content to play a passive rather than an active rôle in the building of socialism.

The Communist Party. The actual leadership of the proletariat is lodged in the ranks of the Communist Party. Being the party of Lenin, it came into possession of the government at the time of the October Revolution in 1917 and in the intervening years has steadily established itself as the ruling power throughout the Union. Although its membership is about two millions in a total population of approximately one hundred and sixty millions, its decisions cannot be challenged. Even the gov-

ernment must bow before the will of the Party. Or perhaps we should say that the government is one of the major instrumentalities through which the Party works. The institution of course should not be confused in its character with the political parties in societies governed by parliamentary institutions. Perhaps the very term party should not be used to designate the organization, because it conveys to American ears a totally erroneous impression. The Communist Party has much more in common with a closed order of believers than with any political party known in the United States.

In maintaining its position of dominance the Party has never hesitated to resort to extreme measures. In order to keep itself in power it has always employed whatever means circumstances have appeared to make necessary. This does not mean, however, that it has customarily and generally ruled by violence. The contrary rather would seem to be the case. This fact, if such it is, may be traced to several causes. In the first place, the Party endeavors to draw into its membership the more active elements of the population and particularly of the laboring classes and to instil into them an extraordinary devotion to the ideals of socialism. Although many careerists and time-servers have undoubtedly found their way into the organization, this effort has met with much success.

In the second place, by the enforcement of a rigid discipline the Party has been able to achieve relative unity of action and purpose. While any question may be discussed within the Party from every conceivable angle and while individual members are expected to criticize all proposals brought before the Party, after a decision is once reached dissenting voices are silenced and the unquestioned acceptance of the Party decision and the Party leadership is demanded. Although powerful personalities, like Trotsky, Zinoviev, Rykov and Bucharin, have at times refused to submit to this disciplinary principle, the Party has always prevailed in the end.

In the third place, through a most elaborate and reliable system of reporting, which reaches out from Moscow to the most remote and backward villages, the Party keeps itself thoroughly informed regarding the condition of opinion among workers and peasants. To this opinion it is extremely sensitive and in the light of facts stands ever ready to modify its policies, if not its aims. Thus it was most certainly the knowledge of the condition of sentiment in the villages that caused Stalin to call for a moderation in the tempo of the collectivization of agriculture in his famous statement, "Dizziness from Success," which appeared in the press on the second of March, 1930.

In the fourth place, the Party possesses a monopoly of legality. But this point will be considered in a later paragraph.

The Party is obviously the crucial factor in the building of the new society. If it should forsake the revolutionary

faith, the entire program of construction would collapse, and the Soviet Union would in all probability revert quickly to some form of capitalism. What provisions have been made therefore to keep the Party loyal to its ideals? From the standpoint of the fortunes of socialism within the country this is a question of supreme importance.

Perhaps the most significant of these provisions is found in the conditions of membership. Persons who, because of the nature of their callings, are the natural enemies of the new order, such as merchants, priests, and private employers of labor, are excluded altogether. Even a manual worker must be recommended by two members and must pass through a probation period of six months before he can be fully admitted to the Party. Thus admission is carefully guarded and an effort is made to keep the complexion of the membership strongly proletarian. In pursuing this aim the Party has seen fit to restrict definitely the proportion of its adherents coming from other strata of society. The expectation is that more than one-half of the members will always be of worker origin and that the great majority of these will come directly from the bench, from conditions of actual employment in industry. And peasants admitted to the Party are supposedly drawn chiefly from the very poorest elements in the village.

The theory underlying these arrangements is obvious. The Party can be trusted to remain true to the masses only so long as the controlling voice in its councils rests with those elements in the population which would be most severely exploited under capitalism. With authority lodged in the ranks of the poorest and most underprivileged classes of bourgeois society the revolutionary energies may be counted upon eventually to raise the material and cultural level of the entire population: the Party will continue to manifest a creative spirit and will not halt its victorious march until the last stronghold of the old order is taken, until the new society without classes and social inequalities is firmly founded.

Certain other measures have been taken which are also calculated to hold the Party steadfastly on its course toward the goals of the revolution. Membership is attended by various obligations which are designed to guard the Party against those who would use it for purposes of self-aggrandizement. There is for example the rigid internal discipline to which reference has already been made. Many persons are unwilling to make the surrender of individual freedom that this entails. Then there is the insistence that every member of the Party participate in some form of socially useful labor, over and above the demands of his regular occupation, for which he receives no material remuneration. At times this may become a burden of large dimensions. Finally, there is the limitation of compensation. With certain qualifications affecting the work of authors and the perquisites of important official

positions, no member of the Party may receive more than 300 rubles (approximately 156 dollars) a month. However, in spite of these efforts to restrict membership to persons of social vision and revolutionary temper many individuals driven by other motives find their way into the Party; and many others become fatigued, fall victims of temptation, succumb to the passing years, or lose the ardor of youth. To reduce the power of these factors, as we shall see in detail later, the Party undergoes a periodical purging process which is expected to eliminate all foreign and poisonous elements. As a consequence, in spite of the lamentations of the more zealous Communists, the Party has been able to perpetuate to a most extraordinary degree its early creative spirit.

In conclusion a word should be said regarding the Party line—a factor of decisive importance in the situation which is not easily comprehended and which is therefore commonly disregarded by the foreign student of Russian affairs. During the past year or two the Western press, in describing and explaining events in the Union, has referred daily to the dictatorship of Joseph Stalin. While this is no doubt a convenient and picturesque method of reporting and while it does bear a semblance of truth, it fails to do justice to the facts. There is most certainly a dictatorship in Soviet Russia today, but it is not a personal dictatorship; it is not a dictatorship of any one man or of any small group of men; it is a dictatorship of the Com-

munist Party. This organization is not a mere mechanism in the hands of an autocrat; on the contrary it is an organism throbbing with life in every one of its thousands of separate cells. In these small constituent units, which live within the larger units of society, every important question of policy is thoroughly examined. Out of the disputes, discussions, and deliberations of little groups of Communists scattered throughout the country, influenced of course by local conditions and by all of the forces at work in the life of the people, there gradually emerges a mass opinion or judgment known as the Party line. Although the direction which this line takes may be powerfully affected by such personalities as Lenin, Trotsky, Stalin and others, it is not fashioned by them. Hard, adamant, and inflexible at a given moment, it is a product of the collective mind and may alter its course at any time. To its mandates even Stalin must yield, if he would not be destroyed, as Lenin did before him. And the dictatorship of the Party would presumably survive the death of any individual.

The Soviet Government. The government is organized also in such a way as to place power in the hands of the proletariat and those elements in the population which may be trusted to build the new society. Perhaps the most distinctive feature of the Soviet political system is the substitution of the principle of economic for the principle of geographic representation. Thus the soviet, which is

the unit of government, is an economic rather than a geographic entity. The individual votes, not as a resident of a certain community, but as a worker in a particular enterprise. In the cities the lowest soviet is ordinarily composed of the members of a shop, a factory, or some other institution. Where the establishment is very small the workers from several enterprises may be combined to form a single political body. In the countryside the inhabitants of an entire village, except those who are disfranchised, constitute a soviet. At first blush this would seem to be a violation of the basic theory of representation to which the Communists subscribe; but in the village, because of the relative absence of occupational differentiation, because practically all persons are peasants, the economic fuses with the geographic principle. The net result of this scheme is that workers and peasants play a very active part in political affairs.

Through the disfranchisement of those classes of citizens which in the Western democracies practically control the state, the power of the proletariat is yet further enhanced. Thus the right to vote is denied not only to minors, lunatics, and criminals, but also to persons who extract gain from the employment of others; to persons who live on incomes not derived from their own labor; to private merchants, traders, and commission men of every description; to priests and ministers of all religious cults and creeds; to employees and agents of the old imperial

police, members of the former reigning family, and officials of the various detective and punitive organs of the tsar. In a word, all those who by reason of former associations, economic interest, or general cast of mind might be expected to be hostile toward the building of the collectivistic order are barred from the political councils of the country.

The natural opponents of socialism are thus disarmed at the outset. By means of an unrelenting campaign of education and propaganda which reaches into the most remote and intimate corners of the state, the pillars of capitalistic society are made to appear in a despicable rôle as enemies of the people, exploiters of the poor and afflicted, cruel vampires living on the blood of the masses. These practices have led many observers to the conclusion that the Communists have abandoned the theory that full political rights should be extended to every citizen not adjudged morally or mentally incompetent. It would be much nearer the mark to say that from their standpoint priests, private merchants, speculators in stocks, and great employers of labor are guilty of grossly immoral conduct. The activities in which such persons engage are regarded as evidence of grievous social perversion or undeveloped personality. But whatever the underlying philosophy, the Soviet theory tends to exalt workers and peasants and to guarantee to them practical control over the institutions of government.

By means of certain special arrangements governing the relationships of the lower to the higher soviets the proportional influence of the peasants is greatly reduced. The details of these arrangements need not be described here. It must suffice to say that in the All-Union Congress of Soviets, because of a complicated system of selecting delegates by a process of indirect voting, the rural population is given a representation which is far below its numerical strength in the population of the country. In fact, although approximately four-fifths of the inhabitants of the Union live in villages, their power in electing delegates to the All-Union Congress, the supreme organ of government, is no greater than that of the cities. Broadly speaking, in the formulation of the central policies and programs of the Union the vote of a single urban worker may be said to carry as much weight as the votes of four or five peasants. Thus, while the architects of the new social order speak constantly of the sacred union of workers and peasants, this union is a very unequal one. The latter, moreover, are placed in different categories. In the words of Lenin the proletariat should unite with the poor peasant and, leaning on the middle peasant, carry on a struggle with the kulak.2 Every precaution is taken to make certain that in all crucial matters decision will rest with the workmen of the cities.

² The kulak is defined ordinarily as a rich peasant, but this is not strictly accurate. He is rather, according to the Communist, a peasant who is strongly imbued with an individualistic psychology and seeks to lift himself through the exploitation of his less fortunate or gifted fellows.

In this connection a word should be said regarding the relation of the Party to the soviets. Although the Communists constitute but the smallest fraction of the voting population, they have the lion's share of the important positions and hold the headships of all the great governmental departments. This fact has led many to the conclusion that the participation of non-Communists in the deliberations of the soviets is not free, but is rather subject to the coercion of Party influence. While this accusation has at times doubtlessly contained a large element of truth, it is by no means an adequate characterization of the functioning of the Soviet government. On the whole the control which the Party unquestionably exercises is achieved in a much more subtle manner.

Through various measures, some of which have already been indicated, the Communists succeed in keeping power in their hands. Perhaps the most important of these measures is the monopoly of legality which the Party enjoys. Owing to the fact that organized opposition is not tolerated, it can encounter no serious competition in the sphere of politics. Individuals, however talented, since they must stand and work alone, are utterly incapable of waging a successful contest with the Party. The fact that the Communists, in obedience to the principle of Party discipline, always go into a political meeting as a unit and with minds already formed, gives them tremendous power. Moreover, members of the Party, before and

after entering the organization, undergo a process of political education which fits them for positions of leadership. The mere fact of membership in the Party clothes the individual with a certain prestige which makes him the logical candidate to represent the community in the soviet, or the lower soviet in the higher soviet. If a village or a factory wishes to secure some privilege or right, it will tend to select as the champion of its cause the person who has the greatest chances of success. And since it knows that, other things being equal, the Party member will be listened to most attentively by those in authority, it will choose him as its representative. Finally, the Party leads because it has ideas, because it has a program, because it keeps in the vanguard of the march of events. Let it become a great vested interest devoted to the task of maintaining its privileges and it will suffer the same fate as the old aristocracy.

The Professional Unions. In view of the fact that the city workers constitute the ruling class in the new society, their organizations must constitute a very important part of the revolutionary order. With the exception of the peasants still engaged in individual enterprise, workers participating in socially useful labor are organized into twenty-three great professional or trade unions. While membership in these unions is not compulsory, practically all workers belong to them because of the prestige and privileges which membership carries. To secure a posi-

tion, for example, may be rendered extremely difficult to anyone who is not on the register of the appropriate union. Then there are various benefits, such as medical service, social insurance, cultural advantages, which members of these organizations enjoy. Even the right to buy food at the state shops during periods of stringency may be restricted to union members; and the extension of educational opportunities may be limited in the same way.

The reader should remember that these unions are not confined to manual workers. Teachers and physicians and artists have their organizations as well as carpenters, machinists, and agricultural laborers. In the cities the only classes denied the right to organize are the pariahs of Soviet society—speculators, private traders, commission men, persons living on the labor of others, and ministers of religion. The lot of these classes undoubtedly is hard; but they are rapidly dwindling away and their members are expected to find new means of livelihood. According to the Communist theory they are undesirable vestiges of the capitalistic order and will disappear altogether in the collectivist state.

The trade unions, particularly those enrolling the industrial workers, stand next to the Communist Party as defenders of the revolutionary cause. And the point should be made that the Party controls these organizations by much the same methods that it employs in directing the deliberations of the soviets. Consequently the unions are

a large rôle in the management of industry, they assume heavy obligations in raising the efficiency of production, they accept responsibility for the education of raw workers from the village, they organize special brigades for the meeting of various emergencies, they make their voices heard in the formulation of all plans for the development of the social economy, and they can generally be counted upon to lead the way in the development of the new order. They are the most trusted tools through which the Soviet leaders hope to build the structure of socialism.

The Police and the Red Army. Finally, attention should be directed to the provisions which have been made to guard the revolution from attack during the period of transition. So profound and cataclysmic was this upheaval that the bitterest of passions were unleashed, the most deadly enmities were generated, families were torn to pieces by dissension, brother was turned against brother, and the new government was made an outcast among the nations of the earth. Indeed so violent were the repercussions which it set in motion throughout the world that they have scarcely yet begun to subside. Even the friends of the Soviet state doubted that it could endure and its enemies daily prophesied its downfall. First foreign armies and later foreign money championed the cause of reaction. And today there is probably no important government in either hemisphere that would not rejoice

and breathe more easily at the failure of the entire Soviet experiment. The fact that it has survived through thirteen years would seem to indicate that ample measures for defense have been taken.

The builders of the new society have developed both the police and the military arms of government. They are prepared thereby to guard the revolutionary movement against both internal and external enemies. In addition to the ordinary police, which is responsible for the maintenance of order, there is a special state political police, known as the Gay-Pay-OO.3 This organ of the revolution, which spreads like a net over the Union and even sends its emissaries abroad, is designed to ferret out and combat all counter-revolutionary influences. Since it works secretly and since it may combine judicial with police functions, its actions are so shrouded in mystery and so clothed with finality that its very name has come to strike terror in the hearts of persons opposed to Bolshevik rule. Certainly it is greatly feared by the enemies of the Soviet government. The Communists, on the other hand, delight in referring to it as "the unsheathed sword of the proletariat." While no doubt it has made mistakes in individual cases, it has on the whole served well the purpose for which it was created—it has given solid support to the revolutionary cause during the critical years of infancy. Without it the dictatorship would most cer-

^{*} These three syllables represent the initial letters of the Russian words of the name of the organization.

tainly have collapsed long ago.

The chief defense of the Soviet government against external enemies is the Red Army. Following the complete dissolution of the old imperial army at the time of the revolution, a new military force of undoubted strength and efficiency has been organized and trained. Although its equipment is far inferior to that of the army of an advanced industrial nation, its morale may well be superior. By means of three measures its loyalty to the ideals of the revolution is insured. In the first place, membership in the Red Army is limited largely to persons coming from the proletariat and the poor and middle peasantry. In the second place, more than forty per cent of the soldiers and over fifty per cent of the officers are members or prospective members of either the Communist Party or the Union of Communist Youth. In the third place, during their two years of service in the Red Army the soldiers pursue a program of intensive study of the revolutionary literature and the policies of the Soviet government. They are even taught to obey their officers only so long as the commands are in the interest of the working class. While many individuals probably pass through the Army without becoming fired with revolutionary enthusiasm, the great majority are undoubtedly affected. This is amply attested to by the changes which peasant youth undergo during their period of training. The older peasants have come to refer to "that devil's

blood with which they have been inoculated." As a consequence, Soviet citizens very commonly contend that the soldier of the Red Army, because of his knowledge of the purposes for which he fights, and contrary to the reports of mutiny which perpetually appear in the western press, is the most dependable soldier in the world.

CHAPTER IV

THE STATE PLANNING COMMISSION

THE development of the several arms of the revolutionary order outlined in the preceding chapter represented an effort to consolidate the political and military conquests of the revolution. By means of the Communist Party, the Soviet government, the trade unions, the Gay-Pay-OO, and the Red Army the dictatorship of the proletariat was firmly established. The fortunes of the revolution were entrusted to those elements of the population which by tradition and outlook might be expected to remain most thoroughly committed to the building of socialism. Those classes which would naturally be hostile toward the ideals of the revolution were disfranchised, placed under heavy disabilities, and practically cast out of society. The ground was thus cleared for the work of creation; but great tasks of construction are beyond the powers of the ordinary institutions of government. Parties and soviets and armies can rule, but they cannot themselves build a new social order.

The conscious building of society is an undertaking of

enormous difficulty and complexity. Indeed men have commonly thought it impossible. Certainly it could scarcely proceed beyond its most simple stages in the absence of special organs of planning-institutions devoted wholly to the tasks and problems of social planning. This at least has been the experience of the Soviet Union during its relatively brief existence. For a time immediately following the revolution the planning was done by the government itself. But as the magnitude of the work increased and as its importance came to be recognized, the necessity of delegating this function to some specially created agency became increasingly apparent. The result was the founding of the State Planning Commission in 1921. This institution was not born in a fully developed form. In fact it has been changing and growing from the very day of its birth, and even now at the age of ten years no one would be so bold as to endeavor to forecast its form at the time of maturity. Already, however, it has begun to play a central rôle in the building of the new society.

The Structure of the State Planning Commission. Before we examine the State Planning Commission itself, its position in the Soviet governmental system should be made clear. The supreme organ of authority in the country is the All-Union Congress of Soviets which meets at least once every two years for a few weeks. During the interval between Congresses power rests with the Central Execu-

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tive Committee which is composed of something less than six hundred members. But, since this body is not in continuous session, meeting only three times a year, the actual responsibilities of government are generally discharged by the Presidium of the Committee. The executive arm of the Presidium is the Council of People's Commissars which embraces the heads of all governmental departments and thus corresponds roughly in function to the president's cabinet in the United States. Within the Council of People's Commissars and almost equal to it in power is the Council of Labor and Defense which endeavors to coördinate and regulate the military forces and the general economic life of the Union. The most important division of the Council of Labor and Defense is the State Planning Commission.

In its structure the Commission is extremely complex. Any description is likely therefore to convey a false impression of simplicity. Even a diagram representing its various parts and its relationships to the other organs of the Soviet state contributes but little to understanding. Yet a few general remarks regarding its nature may help to clear up certain misconceptions which seem to prevail generally in the United States. The common notion that the State Planning Commission consists of a dozen or so economists who sit in their swivel chairs in Moscow and conjure out of the air elaborate plans for the economic development of the Union seems to have little basis in

fact. The reality presents an entirely different picture.

The planning organs of Soviet Russia constitute a vast system which reaches from Moscow to the most remote corners and the most retarded cultures of the country. There is, to be sure, an All-Union Planning Commission with offices in Moscow. But there is also a planning commission in each of the seven constituent republics comprising the Union, a planning commission in each of the more important of the thirty so-called autonomous republics and areas, a planning commission in each of the great oblasts into which a republic is ordinarily divided, a planning commission in each okrug within an oblast, and even embryonic and partial planning commissions in the yet smaller politico-economic divisions. Very commonly, too, there are planning commissions associated with the more important divisions or departments of government and industry.

These various commissions sustain intimate relationships with the appropriate soviets, with the Communist Party, with the different trade unions, with the various commissariats, with the great economic trusts, and with other organs of the social structure. Then they are welded together into a single instrument and made to constitute a comprehensive and complex system which is devoted to social planning just as the schools are devoted to education or the police force to the maintenance of order.

The Functions of the State Planning Commission. An

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examination of the organization of the central commission in Moscow will convey a general idea of the functions which the planning system is expected to discharge. Except for a few unimportant qualifications the institution may be said to be divided into four great departments. The first department is concerned with the basic problems of the organization, the improvement, and the planning of production in the various divisions of the entire social economy. This department is subdivided into appropriate sections, such as transport, agriculture, manufacture, chemistry, and lumbering. The second department is responsible for the gathering of statistics, the keeping of accounts, and the study of business trends at home and throughout the world. On the basis of the data thus assembled forecasts with regard to the condition of trade and industry for the immediate future are made every ten days. The third department is called the sector of reconstruction and discharges the crucial function of discovering defects in the economic order and of advancing the technical level of the entire industrial system. For example, the Soviet chemical industry may prove to be less efficient in some respects than the corresponding industry in certain other countries. An effort will then be made to isolate the cause and to make suggestions with a view to the correction of the defects. The fourth department, which is just being organized, embraces the very important domains of labor, culture, and science. The

central function of this department will be to transmute gains in economic efficiency into the achievement of the great social and cultural purposes in whose name the revolutionary struggle was waged. The hope is that mastery over economic processes will be attended, not by a struggle for new markets, but rather by a concerted attempt to enrich the spiritual life of the population.

In general, the subsidiary planning commissions in the different republics and in the smaller divisions of the Union are similar in structure and function to the central commission in the capital city. Each possesses certain characteristics which are peculiar to itself and which reflect the condition of industry and culture in its particular area. But everywhere the planning organs are dealing with the same fundamental problems: they are gathering data from life and bringing these data to bear on the numerous tasks of planning and of organizing the entire social economy in the light of the ideals of the revolution. Being closely integrated into a single system, they provide the means for the general pooling of knowledge and for the focussing of experience on the surmounting of any obstacle.

The Process of Planning. The formulation of a general plan for the economic and cultural development of the Union is an extremely complicated and arduous undertaking. It involves the coördination of the activities of all of the different elements and divisions of the planning system and of numerous related institutions besides; it

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involves the enlistment of the energies of the entire body of self-conscious and revolutionary-minded workers in the country; it involves innumerable conferences, meetings, and discussions. Since its founding the Planning Commission has held six general all-Union sessions of representatives from all of the local planning organs. In addition it has organized great numbers of special conferences and congresses for the purpose of dealing with particular aspects of the development of the economy. Thus in the elaboration of an important plan ideas flow back and forth throughout the system of planning organs. During the months of December, 1927, and January, 1928, when the foundations of the Five-Year Plan were being laid, there were held sixteen all-Union conferences, as well as numerous smaller conferences, on various phases of the plan. After a project is launched the Commission keeps a careful and continuous record of its operation and modifies its provisions in the light of experience.

These conferences are so important that a further word should be said regarding their nature. As a rule they are composed of two related yet different bodies of workers. On the one hand are the economists, engineers, educators, and planning specialists who study and examine the plan in its economic, technical, and scientific aspects. On the other hand are the Party members, government spokesmen, and representatives of the masses generally, who scrutinize the plan from a political, ideological and

purely practical point of view. This dual composition of the conference, according to the Soviet leaders, introduces an element quite unknown elsewhere in the world—the element of severe and sustained self-criticism. Even a casual acquaintance with the press of the Union would seem to lend emphatic support to this contention. The progress of the Five-Year Plan has been attended by a constant and ever-growing stream of informed and ruth-less criticism.

The total process of planning, however, is not carried on within the organs of the State Planning Commission. They merely develop the general plan. There then remains the task of making the plan concrete and of relating it to the actual conditions of life. This is the function of the several Commissariats whose areas of jurisdiction fall within the scope of the plan. Thus the Commissariats of Agriculture, of Transport, of Posts and Telegraph, of Labor, of Trade and Commerce, of Finance, of Education, of Health, and of Social Welfare, each develop their own detailed programs for the realization of the general plan. The way in which this is done may be illustrated by reference to the work of the Supreme Economic Council.

In the realization of any comprehensive plan for the development of the public economy the Supreme Economic Council probably bears heavier responsibilities than any other department of the government. It is coördinate in position and function with the various Commissariats and

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has general charge of all branches of industry: coal, oil, mining, metal, electrical, chemical, timber, paper, textile, silicate, food, leather, and others. In order that the Council may discharge its heavy duties effectively, all the industries of the Union, except those which are still in the stage of handicrafts, are organized into some sixty great trusts and a considerable number of less powerful economic units. Through these trusts the Supreme Economic Council endeavors to stimulate, coördinate, and regulate the expansion of Soviet industry.

Also by means of the trusts the Council translates the general plan and the annual control figures into concrete and specific terms. It thus develops a plan of its own known as the promfinplan (industrial financial plan) which embraces all branches of industry and every factory, mill, or other enterprise within the Union. During the earlier days of planning and down almost to the close of the second year of the Five-Year Plan the promfinplan was formulated for the most part from the top and imposed upon each particular establishment. But in the months of September and October and November of 1930 certain fundamental changes occurred which may have a profound effect on the future of Soviet planning. As a product of a stirring campaign carried on among the rank and file to speed up the program of production and achieve the plan in four years, the workers, first in a few plants and later everywhere, assumed responsibilities for planning. They now take the promfinplan of the Council, test it against their experience, and suggest the appropriate revisions. The resultant plan has been christened the fstretchny promfinplan and is commonly regarded as a most significant addition to the technique of planning. The Russian adjective practically defies translation. We can only say that it designates a process which proceeds from the bottom upward, from the point of production through the successive levels of management, and establishes indices for the year on the basis of the actual accomplishments of the better workmen. During the short period of its existence this plan seems to have served in stimulating the interest of labor in the program and in raising the tempo of production.

Other Tasks of the Planning Commission. The work of the Planning Commission, however, is not confined altogether to the making of plans for the development of the public economy. It has recently elaborated a new calendar which presumably will be adopted generally in the near future. Under this calendar the year will be divided into twelve equal months of thirty days each and the month will consist of six five-day weeks. The five extra days in the year will be free holidays lying outside the week. Although there is an obvious fling at the observances of the Christian Church here, since Saturday and Sunday are eliminated from the reckoning, the calendar possesses many merits.

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The Commission was assigned also the task of remaking the territorial divisions of the country. The traditional political units were found to be poorly adapted to the needs of the new order. Having been created during the reign of Catherine the Great and designed to help the monarchy administer the realm in a pre-industrial age, they possessed historical rather than functional significance. A special committee was appointed therefore to deal with the problem. After months of work this committee, on the basis of the facts of geography, ethnography, and industry, reconstituted the lines dividing the country and created a new series of territorial divisions. The gubernia, the uyezd, and the volost were displaced by the oblast, the okrug, and the rayon. But, not being wholly satisfied with this arrangement, the Central Executive Committee of the government during the year 1930 proposed the elimination of the okrug and the elevation of the rayon to the status of the chief administrative unit. This reform is now in process of realization and no doubt will react in time upon the process of planning itself.

Relation of the Planning Commission to Education and the Government. One of the most striking features of the Soviet state is the relation of the Planning Commission to the system of public education. Indeed, this relationship may determine the fate of the revolutionary movement. Since the educational institutions constitute the chief instruments through which the great plans are to

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be transmuted into the fabric of society, the connection between these two parts of the social structure is very intimate. However, because of the cultural autonomy of the several constituent republics and the consequent absence of an All-Union ministry of education, there is no organic relation between the central planning commission and the system of education. Nevertheless, representatives of the cultural agencies are systematically drawn into the various Union conferences of the planning organs. In the case of any particular republic the relationship between education and planning is both close and organic. Thus in each of the constituent republics the head of the department of organization and planning of the Commissariat of education is at the same time a member of the planning commission.

This means that the representatives of the system of education actually participate in the formulation of plans for the building of the new social order and at the same time are called upon to assume heavy responsibilities in the work of construction. Under these conditions, for the school or any other educational agency to draw away from society and become immersed in its own affairs is unthinkable. It would seem that the Soviet leaders have discovered an extremely effective method of keeping education in touch with reality and have fashioned an instrument of extraordinary power for the achievement of the goals of the revolution. They have so shaped the social

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order that education simply cannot evade the obligation of engaging perpetually in the task of social reconstruction. The union of education and social planning may well prove to be the most significant achievement of the Russian revolution.

A concluding word should be said regarding the relation of the planning system to the institutions of government. Acting in its unofficial capacity and by the methods already outlined, the Communist Party exercises a powerful influence over the Commission. The idea of creating a system of planning organs in the first instance seems to have come from the Party. Moreover, the Party may issue instructions to its members within the Planning Commission; and, since they constitute the only disciplined and organized body present, they usually encounter little difficulty in carrying out the instructions. The government may do officially and directly what the Party does by other methods. Thus the members of the Commission are appointed by and hold office at the will of the government. Also from time to time the planning organs receive orders from the government regarding the work which they are to do. And before any plans become effective they must be reviewed and approved by the government. As a consequence the formulations evolved by the Commission may be considerably and even radically modified by the political authority. Its power lies in its special knowledge and its access to facts.

CHAPTER V

THE SYSTEM OF PUBLIC EDUCATION

N THE last analysis the building of a new society I must assume the prosaic garb of education. To shout revolutionary slogans, to conquer military and political power, to fashion broad plans of social change are clearly not enough. Unless the habits, the attitudes, the ideas, and the dispositions of the people are altered, unless the gap between the generations is greatly and consciously widened, unless children cease to follow in the footsteps of their parents, the new social order will never appear in the world of real things: it will possess no more permanence than the small hand of idealists who conceived it and will perish with them. The failure of revolutions is a record of the failure to bring education into the service of the revolutionary cause. The more tough-minded students of civilization have drawn the conclusion therefore that human nature does not change and that no revolution can succeed on a grand scale and achieve permanent results. The history of Soviet Russia during the next generation should throw a great flood of light on this

question, because the Communists have recognized its crucial importance from the beginning. The consequence has been the development of a system of education or public enlightenment which in many respects is without precedent in the realm of pedagogical experience.

One of the first measures taken by the revolutionary government was the placing of all educational agencies under the direct control of the state. While a few private schools may still be found, they are strictly limited in number and are probably confined to the present difficult period when the resources of the state are inadequate to meet the educational needs of the population. Where institutions under non-public auspices are permitted to exist, they are subject to the supervision of the state authority. Special care is taken to guarantee that the social teachings in such institutions will be in harmony with the ideals of the revolution. No deviation from the principle that the influence of education must be pointed unswervingly towards the building of the new order is tolerated in the Soviet Union. This is one of the most commonplace axioms of the Soviet experiment. From top to bottom the entire educational structure is dominated by the urgent need of rearing a valiant and militant generation devoted to the cause of socialism and eager to defend the revolution against all opposition.

Scope of the Soviet Educational System. Apart from the definiteness of purpose which characterizes Soviet edu-

cation the most striking and significant feature of the educational program is its scope. When the Communists decided to make education a function of the state and a channel through which the revolutionary energies would flow, they adopted no half-way measures: they made a thorough job of it; they faced and grasped the problem in its entirety. As a consequence the educational system of Soviet Russia is the most comprehensive in the world. It is not simply a system of schools, although it embraces two sets of scholastic agencies, one for the younger and one for the older generation—one for children and one for adults. It also includes practically all of the cultural and formative influences of society which are capable of being organized, except the home and the church. By means of various regulations and reforms the power of these two institutions is being greatly reduced.

A brief examination of the work of the Commissariat of Education of the Russian republic will leave no doubt regarding the scope of the Soviet effort to change the very character of a people. Although each of the seven constituent republics is presumably autonomous in educational matters, the inclusive reach of the Communist Party has been sufficient to make the general structure of the system essentially the same everywhere. Moreover, since this great republic embraces almost three-fourths of the inhabitants and more than nine-tenths of the area of the Union, no grave bias will be conveyed by confining

the analysis to its program. This analysis will follow the structure of the Commissariat which prevailed until the summer of 1930. At that time, in order to bring educational institutions into a more intimate relation with the plan of construction, a general administrative reorganization was undertaken. The earlier arrangement, however, which divided the field of work into seven great departments, will be entirely satisfactory for our present purposes.

The Department of Social Education. The program of social education embraces what in America is known as general education. Its task is to transmit to the rising generation that body of knowledges, habits, attitudes, and dispositions which is regarded as essential to the equipment of every builder of the new order. If various collateral institutions be disregarded, the system of social education may be said to be organized on three levels. At the base of this system are various types of preschool institutions which, though existing today in very limited numbers, are designed to enroll children during the ages from three to seven years inclusive. Above these institutions is a four-year primary school taking children from eight to twelve. There then follows a six-year secondary school which is divided into junior and senior divisions of three years each. Although at present this last-named institution is engaged to a considerable degree in the tasks of vocational training, the expectation is that eventually

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the period of social education will continue to the age of seventeen or eighteen years.

The Department of Professional Education. The term professional education carries a much broader connotation in Soviet Russia than it does in America. It includes all forms and levels of vocational and professional training. Based upon the schools of social education and articulating with them at various points is a wide range of institutions engaged in preparing the various kinds of specialists required by the public economy. Under the present organization an individual may proceed to his special training from any one of three levels of social education, depending on the nature of the calling towards which he is aiming. Corresponding with the three points of departure from the lower system are three levels of institutions for professional training. To enter the schools which prepare for the skilled occupations of industry and agriculture, the candidate need to have completed only the primary school. Above these lower vocational schools, in point of general preparation demanded, are the technicums which rest upon the junior division of the secondary school. These institutions prepare primary teachers and other workers of the semi-professional grade. Superior to the technicum and articulating with the senior division of the secondary school are the higher technical schools and universities. Here are trained secondary teachers, agronomists, physicians, surgeons, engineers, historians, linguists,

mathematicians, and others engaged in the higher forms of professional service.

A word should be said regarding the application of the class principle to the admission of candidates to the higher institutions. Because of the strategic and commanding position held by the professional workers in any society, the question of recruiting the members of this occupational group is of great importance. A certain bitterness between the Communists and the old intellectual class is a part of the heritage from the revolutionary struggle. The Soviet leaders maintain that the intelligentsia deserted the revolution during its most critical years. The government early decided therefore to build up a new intellectual class, blood of the blood and flesh of the flesh of the proletariat. It adopted the method of favoring workers and peasants in admitting students to the privileges of higher education. Then it pursued the positive course of founding special institutions, known as workers' faculties, which are equipped to prepare young workers and peasants for the great technical schools and universities. By these two methods the old intellectual class is rapidly being replaced by persons drawn directly from the ranks of the proletariat and the poor peasantry.

The Department of Political Education. The institutions of political education are among the most important cultural agencies created by the revolution. Having no organic connection with the divisions of social and

professional education, they are concerned primarily with the political education of adults. But since the promotion of political education is practically impossible in an illiterate population, and since the present régime inherited from the Empire an evil legacy of illiteracy, the first charge upon this division of the system has been the teaching of reading and writing. The attack on this problem has been undertaken on a gigantic scale. Thousands of points for the liquidation of illiteracy have been established throughout the land; and cottage reading rooms, libraries, people's homes, clubs, the radio, correspondence courses, and other agencies have been brought into the service of adult education.

The visitor to Soviet Russia today hears not only about the liquidation of ordinary illiteracy but also about the liquidation of political illiteracy. This second form of deficiency represents an ignorance of those fundamental concepts and an absence of those convictions which, according to the views of the Communists, constitute the essence of political knowledge and wisdom. The liquidation of illiteracy of this order is being achieved through the various institutions mentioned in the preceding paragraph and also through a graded system of so-called Soviet Party schools and Communist universities. In their curricula these institutions emphasize the writings of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and the other great revolutionists; in their methods they stress discussion, analysis, and dialectics.

Clearly their object is to prepare the student to expound and defend the Communist theories and the Marxian philosophy. Out of them are coming the more ardent leaders and champions of the revolutionary movement.

The Department of Art. The department of art works in close coöperation with the department of political education. It has general supervision over the development of all forms of art and over all institutions devoted to art education. Particular attention is being devoted to the evolution of an art which is faithful to the revolutionary ideals and which seeks to express the aspirations of the proletariat. By means of censorship and the allocation of funds a definite effort is made to control the ideology but not the forms of artistic expression. In harmony with this point of view much consideration is being given to the task of making art accessible to the masses. Among the more important institutions falling under the direction of this department are the theater, the cinema, and the museum.

The cinema in particular is being developed into an educational and cultural agency of great power. In contrast with American practice the Soviet moving picture has neither the amusement of its patrons nor the accumulation of profits as its major object. Its purpose rather is to serve as a powerful instrument for the cultural growth of the masses and the building of the new society. While this gives to all Soviet films a strong propagandistic color-

ing, it also supplies them with a passion and a meaning which are totally lacking in the Hollywood product. The heights which the Russian cinema may reach can be seen in such pictures as *Potemkin*, *Ten Days That Shook the World*, and *The End of St. Petersburg*.

The museum likewise merits special mention. To the development of this institution the Soviet educators have given much attention. Every city of any size has its gallery of the fine arts. Through the halls of this gallery workers and peasants, men and women, children and adults, as individuals and in groups, move in an endless stream. In order to make its treasures accessible to the untutored masses a staff of instructors is provided to explain the pictures to visitors from village and factory. Then there is the museum of the revolution. Here is presented, by means of relics, documents, drawings, paintings, and reproductions of prisons, a vivid account of the revolutionary struggle from the days of Stenka Razin down to 1917. Everything is ordered with great care and pedagogical acumen. To pass through this museum without feeling oneself moved to profound sympathy for the revolutionists is practically impossible. Also, educational museums, anti-religious museums, historical museums, industrial museums, and agricultural museums are appearing rapidly in the centers of population.

The Department of Literature and Publishing. This department discharges a broadly social as well as a dis-

tinctly educational responsibility. It probably wields as much power as the entire educational system in America. Its function is to plan, control, and censor practically all publishing within the republic. Only the publications of the government, the Party, and the Academy of Science escape the molding influence of its wide powers. All manuscripts must be submitted to this department before publication and a copy of every issue of a periodical must be sent to its offices. If matter in this copy is thought undesirable, the entire issue may be confiscated and the publication of the periodical suspended. Thus the influence of the department is felt not only in the schools but in every sector of society. Wherever books, magazines, and newspapers are read, it gives some direction to thought and becomes a factor in the determination of political issues. The press is made to throw practically its entire weight on the side of building the new society.

The Department of Science. Crowning the educational and cultural system are the great institutes of science. Certain of these institutes are attached to the universities, but many of them are being established independently. The most significant fact, however, is that scientific research is being developed rationally and according to a plan. Under the old régime approximately eighty per cent of all scientific institutions were located in Moscow and Leningrad. This was the inevitable consequence of the policy of colonization, centralization and Russification pur-

sued by the tsar. Under this policy a student living in the Urals or the Caucasus, great centers of the mining industry, was compelled to go to Leningrad to study mining. The present government seeks to distribute scientific institutions throughout the Union according to the facts of natural resources and industry. In every important area institutes of research are being organized to meet the needs and conditions of the region.

Only about twenty per cent of the research institutes, however, are under the control of the Department of Science of the Commissariat of Education. The remainder are intimately associated with industry and are supervised and coördinated through a division of the Supreme Economic Council. The principle followed here is fairly obvious. Those institutes dealing with the more fundamental and social sciences, such as physics, chemistry, biology, medicine, economics and pedagogy, are responsible to the Commissariat of Education; while those promoting the study of mechanics, electricity, metals, oil and the more immediate problems of industry are a charge upon the Supreme Economic Council. One of the major outcomes of this arrangement, according to Soviet scientists, is an intimacy of relationship between science and industry that is impossible in a capitalistic country. The development of industry and the pursuit of the more practical sciences being under the same management, research can be organized on a comprehensive scale and

in the light of the remote future. To be sure, this condition is approximated in other countries where great industrial enterprises conduct extensive scientific inquiries. But there the competition among corporations creates barriers which prevent the free circulation of findings throughout the industrial system. The Communists believe that their inclusive and coördinated promotion of research will give their society great advantages in the struggle with capitalism.

The Department of Organization and Planning. This department adds no institutions to the system of public education. Its functions are mainly statistical, financial, coördinative and critical. It gathers information regarding the condition of education in the republic, supervises the financing of all educational institutions supported out of the state budget, and seeks to perfect the administrative organization of the entire educational system. It appraises all existing practices in the light of changing social conditions and the advancement of professional knowledge. It also keeps a perpetual occupational census on the basis of which the need for specialists in every field during the immediate future is estimated. In this way the program of vocational training is kept in close touch with reality. It is unnecessary perhaps to add that the relationship between this department and the planning organs is very close. The department is a sort of planning commission attached to the Commissariat of Education.

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Other Educational Agencies. This analysis of the work of the Commissariat of Education bears sufficiently eloquent testimony to the pains which have been taken to forge the various educational and cultural institutions into a single mighty instrument for the building of the new society. But the story is not yet fully told. Certain other agencies of great power, which fall outside the jurisdiction of the Commissariat, are also serving the same cause. Thus there are the three Communist societies for the younger generation: the Octobrists for children from seven to eleven years, the Pioneers for children from eleven to sixteen, and the Young Communists for youth from fourteen to twenty-three. Then there are the professional unions, each of which devotes a certain portion of its income to the promotion of educational and cultural activities. They organize clubs for young people, arrange excursions to museums and art galleries, and endeavor to raise the cultural life of the workers in factories, shops, and rest homes. They even assume some responsibilities for the training of specialists. Finally, there is the Red Army which, as we have seen, probably stands unique among the military forces of the world in the attention devoted to education. It aims not only to train soldiers but also to prepare leaders for the revolutionary movement and qualified workers for industry and agriculture. As a result of the coördinating influence of the government and the Communist Party these agencies,

and many others of minor significance, are made to work in harmony with the institutions of the Commissariat of Education. Through every available channel the revolutionary forces are sweeping onward and moving toward the realization of the ideals of Marx, Lenin and Stalin.



PART TWO

THE FIVE-YEAR PLAN OF CONSTRUCTION



CHAPTER VI

THE ORIGIN OF THE PLAN

THE actual functioning in the revolutionary order of the State Planning Commission and of the system of public education in building the new society may be admirably illustrated in the great Five-Year Plan of Construction. This plan, which is now in its third year, is without doubt the most ambitious achievement of the planning organs and the most gigantic program of construction ever undertaken by any government. Already it is opening up perspectives of development, releasing the energies of the masses, and even changing the psychology of the people in ways that could not have been anticipated. If the plan is successful, it will not only greatly alter the internal situation, but will also radically affect the position of the Soviet Union in the family of nations. It will likewise deeply influence the status and the spread of the revolutionary movement in other countries. Its fortunes should be followed therefore with both interest and concern by sober-minded citizens throughout the world.

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In order that the reader may secure a fairly comprehensive view of the plan and its provisions, as well as its relation to the educational institutions, it will be presented in its various aspects. First, a brief statement will be made regarding the origin and development of the plan and its place in the history of planning in the Soviet Union. Thereafter attention will be directed to the major items in each of the three great divisions of the plan: the economic program, the social program, and the cultural program. Although the members of the Planning Commission seem to draw no line between the economic and the social programs, the foreign student will grasp the purpose of the plan more clearly if this distinction is drawn. An effort will be made to separate the provisions which are essentially economic in character from those which point directly toward the building of a new type of social order.

Lenin's Interest in Planning. In giving an historical account of the Five-Year Plan and of the entire program of planning in the Union, as well as in reporting almost any important achievement of the revolution, the Soviet leaders never tire of quoting from the speeches and writings of Lenin. They are fond of referring to his statement at the Eighth Congress of Soviets in 1920:

When great plans appear whose calculations embrace many years, skeptics will frequently [84]

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arise who say: "How are we to estimate for so many years! Let God do what is needful to do!" Comrades, we must know how to unite this and that; we cannot work without a plan which covers a prolonged period of time and which is directed towards genuine progress. Do not fear plans which are outlined for long series of years, because without them you will never construct a regenerated economy. Let us rather press on towards their fulfillment.

Lenin of course made numerous other references to the necessity of planning the social order, and is commonly regarded therefore as the father of the entire system of planning. The fact should be noted, however, that, according to the contentions of the Soviet economists, some form of planning is the natural and inevitable fruit of socialism. They argue that capitalistic society, because of its reliance upon private enterprise, is fundamentally anarchistic in character and therefore incapable of developing comprehensive plans which take into account the interests of the people as a whole. They maintain that a socialistic economy must in its very nature be a planned economy and that the struggle to organize life according to plan was born with the October Revolution.

First Efforts at Planning. The earliest plans developed by the Soviet government appeared during the years of civil war. Because of the condition of poverty and priva-

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tion which generally prevailed, the state was compelled to plan the distribution of the necessities of life. Definite provision had to be made for housing, heating, food provisioning, and the keeping open of the lines of transportation and communication. This planning, however, seems to have been not greatly unlike the planning in which capitalistic states engage during periods of severe crisis. Thus in the United States and in the countries of Western Europe at the time of the Great War there was a rational ordering of life at many points. Yet there was an important difference here. In the case of the early Soviet efforts the experience gained laid the foundations for the more comprehensive and systematic planning of subsequent years. Among the capitalistic states, on the other hand, the measures were designed merely to meet an emergency. Consequently little of permanent value remained after the crisis had passed.

The first attempt at planning, which fully reflected the ideals and genius of the new order, was the ten-year plan of electrification which, on the initiative of Lenin, was presented to and approved by the Eighth Congress of Soviets in 1920. Although the civil war had not been finally liquidated and conditions of famine prevailed throughout the land, the government approved a program for the construction of thirty great regional electric stations which were to form the central points in the technical reëquipment of the country. The launching

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of this plan was also the first step taken by the Soviet state on the road to the complete electrification of the country which, according to Lenin, was essential to the building of a collectivistic order. The leader of the revolution maintained that the only solid foundation of communism is electricity. Indeed the statement is commonly attributed to him that "communism is socialism plus electrification."

Following this initial experiment in the planning of new construction, the Soviet government advanced rapidly from one position to another. In February, 1921, the State Planning Commission was organized; in 1924 the monetary system of the country was completely overhauled and put on a gold basis; in 1925-26 the first attempt was made, not only to formulate for the year ahead separate plans for the different branches of economy, such as heating, provisioning, transport and budget, but also to outline a general plan for the economic development of the country. In this way were born the so-called control figures of industry which have attracted the attention of economists throughout the world. Every year now, after the harvest is known, these figures are composed and made the basis for planning the development of industry, agriculture, transport, finance, wages, prices and every branch of the economy during the ensuing twelve months.

Conception of the Five-Year Plan. With the passage of time and the rapid expansion of the economic order the

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control figures were found to give too limited a perspective of the development of the resources of the country. By 1927-28 the pre-war level of production was passed in almost every division of the economy and the government faced the enormously difficult task of organizing new construction and of making provision for the decisive reconstruction of the entire economic system. As a consequence plans were launched for the building of numerous new plants, the completion of which would require three, four, or even five years. Among these undertakings may be mentioned: Dnieperstroy to be completed in five years; Magnitogorsky, Kusnetzky, Krivorozhsky, and other great metallurgical factories to be completed in three or four years; the Turkestan-Siberian railroad, the tractor factory in Stalingrad, and numerous machine factories, chemical factories, state farms, and many other projects of large dimensions. The construction of these plants and enterprises, at least in a socialistic state, could not proceed far in the absence of a general coördinating plan which would provide for the rational distribution of materials, allocation of capital, and management of labor.

It was out of these conditions that the Five-Year Plan arose. Who first proposed the idea seems to be a difficult question to answer, but perhaps the distinction should go to Krzhizhanovsky, former President of the All-Union State Planning Commission. The thought seems to have taken shape gradually and to have been precipitated, so to

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speak, out of years of experience in planning under the leadership of the Communist Party. The first rough outlines of the Plan were made in 1926. At its Fifteenth Congress in the autumn of 1927 the Party, pursuing its interest in the industrialization of the country, the socialistic reconstruction of the village, the combating of capitalistic elements in the Union, and the general strengthening of the forces favorable to socialism, issued an exhaustive statement of directions for the formulation of a Five-Year Plan of Economic Construction. The subsequent plenums of the Central Committee of the Party and a series of governmental decrees developed further this original statement of directions, indicated the general course to be followed in raising the productive powers of the country, and outlined the major tasks of economic construction to be faced during the immediate future. The responsibility of translating these general orders into the language of concrete economic and technical estimates and of elaborating them into a plan embracing a five-year period was delegated to the State Planning Commission.

The Two Variants of the Five-Year Plan. In obedience to these mandates from the Party and the government the planning organs of the country set to work and in the course of two years brought forth the Five-Year Plan. These organs, however, did not work alone. They were assisted in the task by innumerable responsible economic, political, and scientific groups and institutions distributed

throughout the Union. Also, representatives of the various sections of the country and of the different nationalities participated in the many conferences and congresses which the development of the plan called into existence. Consequently, when the plan was brought before the Sixteenth Party Conference in April, 1929, and the Fifth All-Union Congress of Soviets in May of the same year, it had already been widely and vigorously discussed. Both bodies, while recommending certain minor modifications of the plan, gave it their enthusiastic and unanimous approval and thus made it a part of the law of the land.

As first developed the plan took the form of two variants: the one was called the minimal and the other the maximal variant. The first was based on the assumption that crops would be poor, that credits would not be obtained from capitalistic countries, that the difficulties of securing satisfactory conditions for construction would exceed the anticipation, and that a relatively large proportion of the income would have to be diverted to purposes of defense. The second took a somewhat more optimistic view of the future. It assumed good harvests throughout the five-year period, an improvement in the relations with the world economic order, an acute rise in the quality of the conditions affecting construction, and an appreciable reduction in the proportion of the income required for military purposes.

The reader should note, however, that in their funda-

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mental positions the two variants were not to be distinguished. They both provided for the industrialization of the country and the collectivization of agriculture. Likewise the distribution of the public income in general and the share of the income going to the proletariat in particular were approximately identical in both variants. They differed merely in the rate of development contemplated. The minimal variant may therefore be regarded essentially as a small edition of the maximal variant. In fact the one is about eighty per cent of the other. Thus the program, which under the conditions anticipated in the maximal variant would be completed in five years, would require about six years if the less favorable conditions should prevail.

When the two variants were finally brought before the Party and the government for consideration, it was the maximal and not the minimal program that was approved. The data to be given subsequently in the present volume are therefore drawn altogether from the more ambitious variant, except perhaps in certain cases where the actual course of events has made necessary the upward revision of the elements of the original plan. The minimal variant would seem now to be a matter of interest only to the historian.

Fundamental Purposes of the Five-Year Plan. Running through the Five-Year Plan like the themes of an opera are two fundamental purposes. The first is the rapid industrialization of the country; the second is the radical

socialistic reconstruction of the village. While the plan embraces many other important provisions, these two lines of construction constitute its essence.

The interest of the Soviet leaders in industrialization is easily understood. Because of the difficulties which they have faced in their relationships with capitalistic countries and which they think are likely to continue, they have concluded that the guarding of the revolution itself is dependent upon the development of industry. They feel an especial concern over the establishment of the so-called heavy industries—the industries which produce, not the objects of use, but the tools of production. Without such industries they fear that in the course of time the Soviet Union would gradually fall into the position of an agrarian colony of Western capitalism. They also realize that in case of military conflict victory ordinarily goes to the nation which is best equipped to produce the materials and engines of war.

But there is an even more fundamental reason for this eagerness to build mills and factories and railroads and electric stations. The Soviet leaders believe that the attitude of mind which is indispensable for the construction of a socialistic state appears only under the conditions of industrialism. In support of this thesis they often quote the following words from Lenin: "To suppose that all who toil are equally gifted for this task (of building socialism) would be the emptiest phrase or illusion of the antedi-

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luvian, pre-Marxian socialist; because this ability does not create itself but grows historically and grows only out of the material conditions of large capitalistic production. Only the proletariat on its march from capitalism to socialism possesses this ability." Thus in their program of industrialization they are seeking, not only to erect a defense against foreign capitalism, but to destroy those individualistic tendencies which thrive on private property and small-scale production.

The socialistic reconstruction of the village may be regarded as the other side of the same question. So long as the Soviet Union remains preponderately rural and so long as the rural population follows an individualistic economy, the building of a socialistic state will be impossible. Under such conditions society will always be divided and the weight of numbers will be on the side of capitalism. The Communists have gone to the root of the problem, attacked the enemy in his own stronghold, and initiated a program which is designed to change radically, not only the forms of agricultural production, but even the very temper of the rural population. This battle over the soil, which is now being waged in the villages of the Soviet Union, may be more crucial in the long run than the military struggles of the first years of the revolution.

Changing Character of the Five-Year Plan. In the following brief outline of the provisions of the Five-Year Plan no effort has been made to give a complete account. In fact, a complete account of the plan which is being pursued in the Soviet Union today lies outside the realm of possibility. Even governmental officials, even the members of the State Planning Commission could not give such an account. This is due in part to the fact that conditions are changing so rapidly that any account is certain to become antiquated before it has issued from the press. No attempt, therefore, will be made to report the various changes which have been made in the original plan. To the American reader the general nature of the program, rather than its details, is the matter of primary interest.

There is a further consideration which makes a complete account impossible: the official plan is not the whole of the Five-Year Plan. When the program was first outlined it was confined almost exclusively to economic and social questions. The cultural program was elaborated at a somewhat later date, and even today some parts of the Plan are probably not adequately developed. Moreover, the idea of the Five-Year Plan has become contagious and has spread through the entire social order. Thus in addition to the Five-Year Plan of the Planning Commission, every school, every factory, every shop, every museum, every library, every club, every newspaper, every organization and every institution of whatever kind has its own five-year plan. Even the Society of Atheists has a program for the liquidation of belief in God during these five years; and the management of the zoölogical garden

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has elaborated a carefully graduated program for the propagation of the various forms of animal life which fall under its care. Indeed, according to the humor current in Moscow, every individual should formulate a five-year plan to guide his own life. The official program has thus transcended its statistical origin and become a living thing.

CHAPTER VII

THE ECONOMIC PROGRAM

Since the most fundamental of the three divisions of the Five-Year Plan is the economic program, this part of the plan will receive first consideration. And since the rapid and comprehensive development of industry is the most important single item in the economic program, the account of the provisions of the plan will begin with the expectations regarding the building of factories, the construction of electrical stations, the fabrication of machinery, the extraction and refinement of metals, the tapping of fuel resources and the manufacture of mineral fertilizers. Thereafter attention will be turned to agriculture, transport, the inter-regional division of labor, and finance.

Industry. The Five-Year Plan provides for an increase of production in state industry of 180 per cent. If the program is realized, this means that the total net production will be raised from 7.7 billion rubles in 1928-29 to 16.3 billion rubles in 1932-33. At the same time the corresponding figures for agriculture will advance from

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11.2 billions to 16.7 billions. Thus the plan fulfills the first condition of industrialization: industry will grow much more rapidly than agriculture. At the end of the five-year period, the share of large state industry in the public economy will be markedly raised and the value of manufactured goods will almost equal the value of agricultural products.

In the program of industrialization, as was said before, particular emphasis is placed upon the development of heavy industry. On various occasions Lenin maintained that not only the revolution but even civilization itself depended upon the development of those branches of industry which produce the tools and means of production. With this sentiment the architects of the Five-Year Plan were no doubt in complete agreement: under its provisions heavy industry will increase by 230 per cent while light industry will grow by only 144 per cent. Thus is Soviet Russia writing her declaration of economic independence from the capitalistic countries.

Closely linked in importance with the development of heavy industry is the increase in the production of electrical energy. And here again the plan follows the voice of Lenin. According to the program the production of electricity will advance during the five years from 5 billion to 22 billion kilowatt hours annually. In other words, a more than four-fold increase in production is contemplated. Without electrical energy, as the Soviet leaders

view the matter, there can be no industrialization in the modern sense of the term; and without industrialization, there can be no building of socialism. Consequently they regard the projected annual production of 22 billion kilowatt hours of electricity as the crucial item in their entire program of industrialization and this goal must be achieved at all costs. It will require, however, the widening and constructing anew of 42 great regional electric stations whose power will increase during the five years from 500 thousand to 3 million kilowatt hours. More than 3 billion rubles will be put into electrification between 1928 and 1933.

The question of fuel is also a matter of central importance. At the present time Soviet industry constantly feels the lack of fuel. This is due in part to the fact that an important portion of the nearer forest supplies of the country were cut away during the period of the civil war. In order to reach the great forests of the North and make their products accessible new railroads must be built. Provision for this construction is made in the Five-Year Plan.

Although the oil industry has received much attention since the revolution and has been thoroughly reorganized, there is a genuine need for the further development of this branch of the economy. Under the Five-Year Plan oil production will increase from 11 million to 22 million tons. Through the application of the new methods of

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analysis to crude oil provision is made for producing the more important light products and thus greatly raising the value of the oil taken from the earth.

The task of provisioning the country with coal faces large difficulties. The two major coal regions, the Don Basin in the Ukraine and the Kusnetz Basin in Siberia, lie more or less on the periphery of the country. Both regions are relatively remote for supplying the needs of the great industrial centers of Leningrad, Moscow, and the Urals. The Five-Year Plan provides not only for an increase in the production of coal from 35 million tons to 75 million tons annually but also for a more rational disposition of the coal produced. This problem will be further illuminated in the consideration of the measures taken with respect to the regional distribution of labor.

In the field of metal production, particularly in the case of iron and steel, the Soviet Union has been living in a state of relative starvation. This is the one great industry that in 1928 still lagged behind the pre-war level of achievement. In view of the large program of machine construction outlined, the situation is regarded as intolerable: a rapid increase in the production of pig iron is one of the more important items of the plan. During the five years the annual production is expected to increase from 4 million to 10 million tons.

Although Soviet machine construction has already surpassed considerably the accomplishments of the pre-

revolutionary period, the further development of the public economy makes necessary a large advance in this field. At the beginning of the five-year period the value of the total annual production of machines was a little more than 500 million rubles. By 1932-33 this will be raised to 2 billion rubles. Of particular importance, however, is the provision in the plan for the construction of new types of machines, such as Diesel engines, lathes, automobiles, tractors, and turbines. Also, special mention should be made of the great program for the manufacture of agricultural machinery. In 1927-28 the total value of this product of Soviet industry was only 158 million rubles. The Five-Year Plan contemplates the increase of this figure to 610 million rubles. In 1932-33 fifty-three thousand tractors will be produced in the Soviet Union.

Another basic industry to which the Five-Year Plan devotes much attention is the production of chemical fertilizers. The expected development is without parallel in any other important branch of the economy. In 1928-29 in this field the Soviet Union occupied almost last place among the great nations of the world. Of all kinds of chemical fertilizers it produced not more than 400 thousand tons annually. According to the plan there will be created a powerful chemical industry which in 1932-33 will not only give to agriculture 8 million tons of chemical fertilizers but will also serve the purpose of the military defense of the country. If this goal is attained, Soviet

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Russia will move into one of the foremost places among the nations in the production of artificial manures.

In the field of industry, according to the Five-Year Plan, 22 billion kilowatt hours of electrical energy, 22 million tons of oil, 75 million tons of coal, 10 million tons of iron, 8 million tons of chemical fertilizers, 2 billion rubles of general machine construction, 610 million rubles of agricultural machinery, 53 thousand tractors, and 100 thousand automobiles will be the annual production of Soviet industry in 1932-33. The attainment of these goals requires necessarily the construction of a whole series of great mills, factories, mines, and electrical stations. And this in turn will require the expenditure of enormous sums of money. During the five-year period from 1923-24 to 1927-28 the country put about 4.4 billion rubles into industry; during the current five-year period from 1928-29 to 1932-33 industry, including electrification, will receive approximately 20 billion rubles. Of this total electrification will get 4 billions, heavy industry 10 billions, light industry 3 billions, and other forms of industrial enterprise the remainder. In the sphere of heavy industry 4 billion rubles will go into metallurgy, 2 billions into hard coal and oil, and 1.4 billion into chemistry. These figures give a general view of the changes which the Five-Year Plan is expected to work on the face of Soviet industry.

Agriculture. The development of agriculture is by no means neglected in the Five-Year Plan. Provision is made

for the increase of agricultural production by 56 per cent. While this is much less than the proposed advance in industry, the task outlined is perhaps equally arduous. Owing to the fact that the rural economy in 1928 embraced some 27 millions of separate peasant households, the problem of raising the general level of agriculture is extremely difficult.

There are two ways of increasing the agricultural production of a country. The one is by enlarging the seeded area and the other is by raising the harvest. The Five-Year Plan calls for a 22 per cent increase in the land brought under cultivation. The area devoted to grain will be expanded by approximately 15 per cent and the area devoted to the various technical cultures by somewhere between 50 and 60 per cent. In the case of grain this means that some 37 million acres of new sowings will have to be added to the present 235 millions. Such an expansion will entail a more adequate distribution of work-horses, tractors, and agricultural machinery in general among the peasants. It will also make necessary the opening up of new agricultural regions in the North Caucasus, the lower Volga, Kazakstan, and Siberia.

The raising of the harvest, which is as important as the widening of the sowings, is also contemplated. In general the plan provides for the introduction of a modern agriculture, that is, an agriculture based upon the rational cultivation of the soil, the wide use of machinery,

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the careful selection of seeds, and the application of mineral fertilizers. Through the use of these methods it is expected that the grain harvest will be raised not less than 35 per cent. If this result is achieved, hundreds of thousands of additional tons of grain will be received into the public economy and a strong export trade developed. By this means the machinery which is indispensable to the industrialization of the country can be imported from the more advanced countries.

Transport. The expansion of industry and agriculture naturally creates the necessity for the further development of transport. The Five-Year Plan therefore makes provision for the building of railroads, the improvement of water communications, the construction of highways, the manufacture of automobiles, and the promotion of aviation. During the five-year period closing in 1927-28 the Soviet Union put into all forms of transport, including capital repairs, a little less than 3 billion rubles. In the five years embraced by the plan, because of the growing demand for a closer integration of the various regions of the country, this sum will be increased to 10 billion rubles.

An outstanding item in the development of transport is the building of 17 thousand kilometers of railroad. This new construction will provide a series of important agricultural, forest, and industrial lines and will bring into much closer relationships the more important economic

regions of the country. First of all, the Don Basin will be connected directly with Moscow and Leningrad, and the central industrial region will be brought into better communication with the vast riches of the territory beyond the Urals. Also, a great railroad line to be constructed between Turkestan and Siberia will open up enormous new areas for economic development.

The five-year period will likewise witness the beginning of work on the century-old project of the Volga-Don canal which will unite by cheap transport the grain and forests of the Volga with the ports of the Sea of Azov and the coal reserves of the Don Basin. Since the entire Volga region suffers from lack of fuel, the union of these two rivers will open to Trans-Volga districts the rich perspectives of industrial development.

In addition to railroads and waterways, provision is made for a marked development of hard surface roads and auto transport. During the five years approximately one billion rubles will be spent on roads and the number of automobiles will be increased from 25 thousand to more than 300 thousand. Finally 100 million rubles will be devoted to the growth of air communications. Thus, as a result of various measures proposed under the plan, the entire Union will be knit more closely together and many new areas will be drawn into the economic system.

Inter-Regional Division of Labor. One of the most interesting problems which the Planning Commission

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faced in drawing up the Five-Year Plan pertained to the inter-regional division of labor. This problem was also peculiarly difficult because complicated questions of national politics, as well as purely economic considerations, were involved. The Soviet Union is peopled by great numbers of races and nationalities which live at various stages of social and cultural development. Under the old régime the growth of diverse national cultures was for the most part purposely retarded and subordinated to the principle of Russification. The present government, in reversing the policy of the tsar, has endeavored not only to insure the rational division of economic responsibilities among the different regions and thus provide for specialization in accordance with natural resources, but also has taken definite steps to raise the more backward regions and to liberate those nationalities which were persecuted in former times. In this account space will permit but the briefest reference to the provisions set forth in the plan.

The program for the development and reorganization of the rural economy contemplates the strengthening of the rôle in grain production of the eastern regions of the country, such as the Trans-Volga, the Urals, Kazakstan, and Siberia, and a corresponding reduction of the rôle of the Ukraine and the North Caucasus. The latter districts will advance very appreciably during the five years, but the eastern territories, in which are concentrated vast

areas of unplowed land, will move yet more rapidly. If this part of the plan should prove successful, by 1933 the entire burden of provisioning the country with grain could be transferred to the country beyond the Volga and the Caspian Sea, and the grain from the Ukraine and the North Caucasus, because of its proximity to the ports, could be directed into the channels of export trade. By the end of the five years, if all goes well, the grain export will amount to eight million tons.

Changes of a similar character are contemplated in the coal industry. In 1927-28 almost 27 of the 35 million tons of hard coal mined in the country came from the Don Basin. This district was the chief source of supply for the entire Ukrainian industrial region, for Moscow, for Leningrad, and for almost all railroads operating in the European part of the Union. Thus the most important industrial areas live on coal brought from a great distance, increasing the cost of production and overloading transport unnecessarily. At the same time, in the Kuznetz Basin of Siberia there are enormous reserves of coal which make the beds of the Don Basin appear altogether insignificant in comparison. Whereas the latter has but 70 billion tons, the former can boast almost 400 billion tons. There are also considerable supplies of coal near Moscow, in the Urals, and in Trans-Caucasia. The Five-Year Plan proposes the rapid increase of production in these relatively undeveloped regions. To be sure, in 1932-33

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the Don Basin will preserve its rôle as the chief source of coal, but the Kuznetz Basin, the Urals, the Moscow area, and Trans-Caucasia will all be assuming a larger share in the coal provisioning of the country.

The regional disposition of the production of iron and steel is another problem faced in the plan. Heretofore black metallurgy has been dependent for the most part on the Ural and the Donetz-Krivorozhsky regions. In the future these two districts will be further developed, but they will no longer stand alone. On the peninsula of Kerch there will be erected a powerful factory which, being united by the sea route with Trans-Caucasian coal, will bring new power to the metallurgical industry. Simultaneously at the other end of the Soviet Union a great factory will rise in the Kuznetz Basin. And in the Urals, Magnitogorsky and a whole series of other factories will be built. Finally in the Far East, on the very borders of Mongolia, the Petrovsky metallurgical unit is under construction. If these plans are achieved, Soviet industry will rest increasingly on a solid base of iron and steel.

In similar fashion the Five-Year Plan calls for the building of new factories for machine construction in the eastern regions. Among these enterprises are the automobile factory in Nizhni Novgorod, the tractor factory in Stalingrad, the factory for heavy machine construction in the Urals, the tractor factory in the Urals, and the factory for the manufacture of agricultural machinery at

Omsk. Thus will be moderated appreciably the preponderant industrial rôle played by the old centers of the West.

A word should be said with regard to the new chemical industry which is to be developed on a large scale during the five years. Practically all regions possessing the necessary raw materials, fuels, and other conditions will be drawn into the program. Powerful hearths will rise in the Don Basin, at Dnieperstroy, in the Urals, in the lower Moscow region, near Leningrad, in Siberia, and in central Asia. At all of these points great enterprises will appear by 1933, equipped to produce mineral fertilizers and other chemical products essential to the economic development and the military defense of the country.

Finance. In concluding this summary of the economic division of the Five-Year Plan reference should be made to the financial burden involved. It is obvious that the plan will require the expenditure of enormous sums of money. According to the estimates the financial system must find during the five-year period approximately 86 billion rubles for the government of the country and economic and cultural construction. Between 1928 and 1933 almost 65 billion rubles will be put into the public economy. Of this amount approximately 20 billions will go into industry and electrification, 10 billions into transport, perhaps 23 billions into agriculture, and approximately 12 billions into other divisions of the economic system. In

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addition almost 16 billion rubles will be devoted to cultural construction. How stupendous is this program can be understood only on the background of the years of war, revolution, civil strife, and famine which ravaged the country from 1914 to 1922. It is well to remember that Lenin, addressing the Fourth Congress of the Communist International on the thirteenth of November, 1922, on the subject of the development of heavy industry, made the following statement: "For a beginning we have earned this year but very little, a trifle more than twenty million gold rubles. But in any case this sum is available, and we will use it in order to raise our heavy industry." This point is ordinarily taken as the benchmark from which all industrial progress is reckoned.

CHAPTER VIII

THE SOCIAL PROGRAM

Plan fails to distinguish between the economic and social features of the Plan, and although the dividing line is often obscure, nevertheless it is very important that a report to citizens of the United States and of capitalistic countries in general should focus attention on the elements of the social program. The reason for this is fairly obvious. If the plan as outlined should prove successful, the Soviet economic system would differ from the economic system of the West more in its social than in its strictly economic aspects. The major items of the social program are the reduction of costs, the management of labor, the productivity of labor, the socialistic reconstruction of the village, health protection, and social insurance.

Reduction of Costs. One of the most interesting features of the Five-Year Plan is the provision for the marked reduction of the cost of goods. At present Soviet industry produces much more dearly than the more advanced capitalistic countries. The Planning Commission recognizes

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this fact fully and proposes that the cost of production be reduced by not less than 35 per cent during the fivevear period. The attainment of this goal is regarded as crucial because the accumulation of the capital necessary for the promotion of the entire program would seem to depend upon it. The method to be employed in achieving the desired results, aside from the improvement of machinery and the technique of production, is the arousal of the interest of the workers. By the education of the masses in the ideals of the revolution and in their responsibilities in the new order, the Communists hope to secure their coöperation in facing all of the tasks of the economic order. The trade unions are called upon to assume heavy obligations here. But the fact of major interest is that industry definitely sets itself the task of reducing costs and of ultimately lowering prices to the consumer.

Management of Labor. The question of the status and the treatment of labor receives an extraordinary amount of attention in the plan. The problems relating to the number of workers, unemployment, the length of the working day, and compensation are all squarely faced. At this point in particular the reader should note the broad scope of the plan.

Although the period under consideration is supposed to witness the extensive rationalization of industry, an increase rather than a decrease in the number of employed workers is expected. Thus the working strength in indus-

try will advance by approximately 30 per cent and the number of laborers engaged in construction will be almost doubled. The unemployed in the country will be reduced from 1.1 million to not more than 500 thousand. In other words, this evil of industrial civilization will be reduced to that level which is made necessary by the turnover of labor in production, seasonal work, and certain other factors which lie outside the range of human control.

The Five-Year Plan devotes equal attention to the question of the hours of employment. As late as 1913 the average working day of tsarist Russia was 9 hours and 43 minutes and in 1917 it was 8 hours and 45 minutes. Shortly after the October Revolution the eight-hour day was adopted, and thereafter from year to year the hours of labor have been gradually reduced. On the occasion of the Tenth Anniversary of the Revolution the Central Executive Committee of the Government issued a manifesto advocating the adoption of a seven-hour day for all industrial and transport workers of the country. At the time of the launching of the plan in the autumn of 1928 twenty per cent of the workers involved had been affected by the manifesto. By 1933 the full extension of the seven-hour working day to all industrial and transport workers and the reduction of the working week to 40 hours presumably will be achieved. And the original report of the Planning Commission to the government

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opens up the following perspectives: "Under the condition of the realization of the proposed growth of the productive powers of the country there will appear genuine opportunities at the end of the Five-Year Plan of considering the question of the further shortening of the hours of labor and of beginning the transition to a six-hour working day."

This brings the account to the very important question of wages. It is sufficient perhaps to say that the Five-Year Plan proposes the raising of nominal wages by 47 per cent and of real wages by 71 per cent. In other words, during the five-year period a large advance in the material prosperity of the workers is outlined. The plan provides not only for an increase in wages but also for an improvement in the living conditions of workers, the extension of better educational opportunities to their children, and a much further development of the measures of social insurance. Certain of these points will be illuminated in subsequent paragraphs.

Productivity of Labor. The reduction of unemployment, the lowering of the hours of labor, and the raising of wages, constitute only one side of the labor question as considered in the Five-Year Plan. The other side has to do with the productivity of labor as it will be affected presumably by the large capital outlays and that elevation of the material condition of the worker provided by the plan. During the five-year period the government con-

templates a 110 per cent increase in the productivity of labor. This goal is to be achieved as much by improving the discipline, the organization, and the self-consciousness of labor as by the installation of machinery and the technical perfecting of industry. In view of the fact that new recruits will be pouring into the factories from the villages in a constant stream, the absorption of these raw workers and the simultaneous raising of the productivity of labor would seem to create an almost insuperable educational task. The achievement of this task is to a large extent a responsibility of the Party and the labor organizations of the country.

Socialistic Reconstruction of the Village. From the standpoint of the building of the new social order the socialistic reconstruction of the village is regarded as almost equal in importance to the general industrialization of the country. Indeed, since there are so many variables in the situation, since the peasant constitutes approximately four-fifths of the population, and since the collectivization of agriculture must move forward without the guidance of precedents, this particular provision is often looked upon as the most critical item in the plan. Certainly from the standpoint of the ideals of the revolution it is not enough that the productivity of agriculture be increased, that the seeded area be enlarged, and that the level of the harvest be raised. These objectives, which may be said to represent the economic side of the question, might all be

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achieved and yet the building of socialism would not be advanced a single step.

In attacking the agricultural question the Soviet leaders, according to their own statements, recognized three possible courses of action. In the first place, they might lend their support to the rich peasants, stimulate the growth of private enterprise, and thus insure the desired increase in production. In the second place, they might ally themselves with the poor and middle peasantry, reduce the power of the *kulaks*, and put their faith in the general socialization of agriculture. In the third place, they might, as occasion warranted, waver back and forth between the two courses.

Needless to say, the Party and the government chose the second of these three roads to the reconstruction of agriculture. This decision, however, was not reached without creating dissensions so bitter that the dictatorship itself seemed for a time to be endangered. The victors in this contest contended that the first course led inevitably to an abandonment of the effort to build a socialistic society in the Soviet Union and to a gradual surrender to powerful capitalistic tendencies within the country. They also maintained that the third course, because it lacked definiteness of direction and purpose, would probably lead in the long run to the same result. Therefore they insisted that the government should befriend the poor and middle peasantry, wage a ruthless war on the kulak, and through vari-

ous measures gradually win the village to a collective form of agriculture.

The Five-Year Plan calls for the necessary measures. It provides for the rapid and steady elaboration of what is called the socialized sector in the village economy. This sector embraces all of those peasants who have been persuaded to abandon their small individual holdings, erase the lines which divide farm from farm, and introduce the methods of collective economy. More concretely, the plan calls for a wide development of sovhozes, colhozes, and machine-tractor stations. The sovhoz is a great farm managed by the state in which production is mechanized and from which the product passes directly into the hands of the state. The colhoz embraces various forms of united peasant households and includes everything from a simple partnership in the social cultivation of the soil up to the full commune. The machine-tractor station is a state enterprise equipped with troops of tractors and agricultural machines and prepared to conclude contracts with entire villages for the plowing of their fields and the sowing, cultivating, and harvesting of their crops. This agency is viewed as essentially an educational institution devoted to the propagation of collectivism. It sends out a whole column of tractors to a single village and in the fulfillment of its engagement removes first the physical barriers and later the psychological barriers which divide the different households.

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In 1927-28 sovhozes and colhozes together embraced approximately 6 million acres of seeded land and accounted for about 7 per cent of the entire grain production of the country. According to the Five-Year Plan, by 1933 sovhozes and colhozes will cultivate some 65 million acres of land. If this goal is achieved, in the last year of the period covered by the Plan, these two forms of collective economy will produce 43 per cent of all the grain of the country. Such an achievement will also mean the bringing into collectives of 20 million persons and 6 million peasant households. In addition millions of other peasants will be given their first lessons in collective economy through the work of the machine-tractor stations.

Through certain policies governing the fixing of prices and the levying of taxes the government is making a special effort to win the support of the poor and middle peasantry. During the year 1928-29 the prices of grain products were slightly raised. Under the plan these prices will be maintained throughout almost the entire period. At the same time the prices on industrial goods will be lowered almost 25 per cent. Moreover, in spite of the fact that agriculture will no doubt improve its methods and increase its production, the total agricultural tax will be slightly lowered during the first part of the five-year period. These benefits of course will not touch the *kulak*: he will be taxed to the very limit to help pay for the huge program of construction.

Another measure which is designed simultaneously to improve the condition of the poor and middle peasants and to develop collectivistic habits in the village is agricultural coöperation. In 1928 this form of enterprise embraced about 10 million households, or 35 per cent of the rural population. At the end of the five-year period approximately 23 million, or almost 85 per cent of the peasant households of the country, will be drawn into agricultural coöperation. This form of enterprise engages not only in the purchase of manufactured goods but also in the marketing of agricultural products. Furthermore, according to expectations coöperation will become increasingly the organizer of production and will bring the small scattered peasant households into some sort of collective economy. In this connection the machine-tractor stations are expected to play a peculiarly potent rôle.

Finally, the income of the peasant is expected to increase at the same rate as the income of the city worker. In the past the gap in material well-being between city and village has tended perpetually to increase. The authors of the plan contend that there will be no such increase during the coming five years. Moreover, in the case of the agricultural proletariat and the peasantry entering collectives provision is made for an unusual increase in income. While these measures, taken as a whole, would not seem to improve the relative position of the peasant, they have the merit of at least stabilizing the situation.

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Health Protection. In the sphere of health protection the Soviet Union inherited from the tsar a very backward condition. The death rate was much higher than in the more advanced countries, various forms of contagious diseases became epidemic from time to time, and modern methods of sanitation, water supply, and sewage disposal were almost entirely lacking. The inadequate toilet facilities and the relative absence of hygienic arrangements impress themselves upon the eye and consciousness of the traveler in both city and village.

The task of changing this situation is a gigantic one. The Five-Year Plan, however, at least makes a beginning. It outlines measures for the development of both preventive and curative medicine. By the end of the five years the sanitary condition of the cities and industrial settlements will be considerably raised, the living accommodations of workers will be increased by not less than 30 per cent, and the reconstruction of industry will make possible some improvement in the material basis of labor. The number of sanitary doctors will grow from 2,080 in 1927-28 to 3,430 in 1932-33. Also the network of sanitary-hygienic laboratories will be significantly widened, particularly in the smaller communities. The number of institutions for the treatment of venereal diseases will increase in the villages from 380 to more than 800 and in the cities from 320 to 500. A large increase in children's consultation centers, hearths, nurseries, and hospitals is also contemplated. The

number of village medical centers will grow from 7,061 to 8,796; and general provision will be made for the expansion of the medical facilities of the country.

Social Insurance. One of the distinguishing marks of a socialistic state is that society as a whole endeavors to share and thus alleviate the misfortunes of the individual During the first ten years of the revolution much was done in this direction; and the Five-Year Plan gives large attention to the matter. It makes marked provision for the extension of the benefits of various forms of social insurance to the population. In 1927-28 the total expenditure in this field was 969 million rubles; in 1932-33, if the plan is successful, it will be 1950 million rubles. Thus, sanitoria and homes of rest will receive 61 million rubles instead of 36 million; aid to the unemployed 217 million instead of 113 million; support of invalids and families without providers 527 million instead of 204 million; aid to the temporarily disabled 870 million instead of 480 million; and other forms of insurance 275 million instead of 136 million. Also, the average monthly aid to the unemployed will rise from approximately fourteen rubles to almost thirty-two rubles; and the insurance of old age which began in 1927-28 will reach 80 thousand persons in 1932-33. Although these measures are of course quite inadequate to meet the needs of a population of 160 million, they constitute a very significant beginning and will be carried further as the economic resources are developed.

CHAPTER IX

THE CULTURAL PROGRAM

LTHOUGH the initial formulation of the Five-Year Plan devoted relatively little attention to cultural interests, except as they were involved in the training of specialists for the economic program, the deficiency raised such a storm of criticism from every quarter that it was quickly corrected. The revolution is coming to be interpreted more and more as a demand on the part of the masses for a richer cultural life. The Communists have constantly pointed to the dependence of economic on cultural backwardness. As early as 1918 in his brochure entitled Pressing Tasks of the Soviet Government, Lenin wrote as follows: "In the last analysis the productivity of labor is very important, indeed it is critically important for the conquest of the new social order . . . and the raising of the productivity of labor is first of all conditioned by the educational and cultural elevation of the masses." And again shortly before his death he said that "the most important condition of the building of socialism is a rapid cultural development, a cultural awakening of the country

involving the widest possible participation of the masses."

The following statement taken from the instructions formulated by the Fifteenth Party Congress and submitted to the State Planning Commission shows very clearly that the Communist Party also recognizes the importance of the cultural revolution:

The Five-Year Plan of socialistic construction must recognize the necessity of the decisive raising of the cultural level of both the city and the village populations, the development of national cultures among the peoples of the Union, and the inclusion of the plan of cultural construction as an inseparable part of the general plan for the socialistic construction of the Soviet Union. At the basis of the program of cultural construction must be placed those tasks of public education which will insure the cultural growth of the wide masses of workers and peasants.

This problem is the more urgent because of the extreme cultural backwardness of the country at the time of the revolution. In 1917 there were few countries in the Western world in which ignorance and superstition were so widespread. Although illiteracy perhaps is not a perfect index of the cultural level of a people, it is probably as accurate a single measure as any. In 1920, three years after the revolution (there are no data for 1917), approximately sixty-three per cent of the inhabitants of the Union could

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neither read nor write. This figure gives some idea of the magnitude of the cultural task assumed by the Communists when they took over the reins of government.

The cultural program of the Five-Year Plan embraces in one form or another practically all of the educational and cultural agencies of the country. The range of institutions and interests is so wide that attention will have to be confined to a few of the major provisions: the liquidation of illiteracy, the introduction of universal compulsory primary education, the enlargement of the facilities of secondary education, the broadening of the program of vocational and higher education, the promotion of adult education, the expansion of the cinema, the radio and the press, the development of the post and telegraph, and the widening of the material basis of education.

Liquidation of Illiteracy. Perhaps the most insistent of all the cultural problems faced by the Soviet leaders in their effort to build a new society is the liquidation of illiteracy. Since the revolution an enormous amount of work has already been done in this direction, but at the beginning of the period covered by the Five-Year Plan a task of tremendous proportions still lay ahead. Thus, according to the census of 1926, for the entire Union there were but forty literates to every one hundred persons of all ages and only fifty literates to every one hundred persons above the age of eight years. In comparison with the most advanced capitalistic countries these figures represent an

extremely low rate of literacy; and the Soviet Union can scarcely hope to overtake its rivals in technical and economic achievement until this severe handicap has been removed.

The Five-Year Plan outlines an enormous program for the liquidation of illiteracy among adults. According to its provisions, from 18 to 19 million persons between the ages of eighteen and thirty-five years will be taught to read and write. In addition millions of older persons will join the ranks of the literate. The five-year goal is to raise the level of literacy of the population as a whole above eight years of age to 82 per cent. In the city this percentage is supposed to reach 93 per cent and in the village 79 per cent. In driving towards this objective, every conceivable agency will be called into service. The number of schools for the liquidation of illiteracy, institutions specially designed for this purpose, will increase from 1,380 in 1927-28 to 4,778 in 1932-33. Also the trade unions, the coöperative organizations, the Communist societies for children and youth, and numerous other voluntary agencies will join in the work.

Universal Primary Education. Closely related to the question of the general liquidation of illiteracy is that of the introduction of universal compulsory education at the primary level. In the past the attack upon illiteracy among adults has been rendered all but hopeless because of the inadequacy of the school facilities provided for the younger

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generation. A continuous stream of illiterates has consequently been pouring into the adult population. In 1927-28 only 66 per cent of the children from eight to eleven years of age were enrolled in the schools.

On the basis of estimates made for the separate republics the educational authorities have concluded that complete compulsory elementary education cannot be introduced throughout the entire Union before 1936-37. For children of eight years this measure can be introduced three years earlier. These limits are fixed in particular by the government of the Russian Republic. The Ukraine and White Russia could introduce complete universal elementary education somewhat earlier—the Ukraine in 1933-34 and White Russia in 1934-35. The Trans-Caucasus Federation contemplates the achievement of this goal in 1935-36. At the Fifth All-Union Congress of Soviets in 1929, however, the State Planning Commission issued a statement to the effect that universal education embracing all children between the ages of eight and eleven years could and must be introduced by the end of 1932-33. The proposal anticipates certain modifications of these limits for the more backward regions, such as the constituent republics of Turkomanistan and Uzbekistan and the autonomic republics of Kazakstan and Kirgis. On the other hand, the Crimea, Karelia, Georgia, and other of the more advanced governments probably could surpass the recommendations of the Planning Commission.

The achievement of this goal will involve the raising of the attendance in the four-year primary school from 10 million to 17 million children. It will also mean the addition of 222 thousand teachers to the 265 thousand at work in 1927-28. The number of schools will likewise have to be increased during the five-year period from approximately 10,000 to 16,500. Moreover, the methods of teaching must be greatly improved and material aid to pupils largely increased, particularly to children coming from the poorest strata of the village. Finally, new measures will have to be employed to reduce the elimination which now characterizes attendance in the primary school.

Secondary Education. Partly because of its interest in preparing students for the universities and technical schools and partly because of its concern over raising the general cultural level of the population, the government has made provision in the plan for significant changes in the sphere of secondary education. Among other things, the further development of this division of the educational program will involve a general increase in the secondary school enrollment, the making of secondary education increasingly accessible to children of city workers, a significant growth in attendance at the schools for peasant youth, a gradual transition from the five-year to the six-year secondary school, an improvement in the effectiveness of the work of the secondary school, and the extension of increased opportunities of secondary grade to the national minorities.

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More concretely the plan provides for definite advances in enrollment at schools of different types and for a large increase in the number of stipend holders.4 Thus attendance at the junior division of the secondary school will grow from 1,250 thousand in 1927-28 to 1,842 thousand in 1932-33; the attendance at schools for peasant youth will increase from approximately 100 thousand to 264 thousand; and attendance at the senior division of the secondary school will expand from 149 thousand to 364 thousand. At the same time the number of stipend holders in the lower division of the secondary school will increase from 230 thousand to 390 thousand, in schools of peasant youth from 14 thousand to 50 thousand, and in the senior division of the secondary school from 13 thousand to 36 thousand. By these measures the Soviet leaders hope to attract to the secondary schools larger numbers of children of peasant and proletarian origin and thus gradually change the composition of the student body in the higher schools.

Vocational and Higher Education. Because of the close dependence of the economic division of the plan on the training of the necessary skilled workers, technicians and engineers, the Planning Commission and the educational authorities have perhaps given more careful attention to the problems of vocational and higher education than to

⁴ The Soviet government is adopting the principle that persons attending both secondary and higher schools should receive maintenance grants. It hopes in this way to reduce the influence of the family in determining the extension of educational opportunities.

any other division of the cultural program. But since the provisions for the training of specialists may be regarded less as a part of the plan itself and more as a means for the fulfillment of the plan, the consideration of this particular aspect of the cultural program will be postponed to Part Three of the present volume. There a careful analysis will be found of the number and kinds of specialists required and the various measures for training them which are being adopted. The preparation of workers of all degrees of qualification is clearly a central feature of the general problem of the mobilization of human resources in the achievement of the plan.

Adult Education. Since the building of the new social order cannot await the appearance of a generation reared under the influence of the Soviet educational system, much attention must be given to the education of adults. This fact has been recognized since the first days of the revolution and, as we have seen, in the meantime a vast series of agencies, which were largely absent in the old Russia and which are inadequately developed in the other countries of the world, has come into being. For purposes of convenience they may be divided into two groups—those which are scholastic in nature and those which follow a somewhat less systematic procedure. The developments contemplated by the Five-Year Plan in each of these divisions are briefly outlined.

The more important scholastic agencies designed for

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adults are workers' courses, Soviet Party schools, workers' universities, peasants' courses, and peasants' universities. Certain of these institutions are of quite recent origin: the peasants' universities, for example, have been organized within the last three or four years. In 1927-28 the total number of such agencies in the Union, including all five types mentioned, was 1,457; and the enrollment, though never fully reported, was estimated at 132,500 persons. The latter figure, according to the plan, will increase to 393,500 in 1932-33. In certain industrial centers a much more rapid growth is anticipated. Thus in Leningrad the number of students pursuing workers' courses of various types is expected to expand from 4,698 to 26,400, and in the Urals from 620 to 7,200.

The projected development of certain of these institutions should be of interest. The workers' universities, which combine political enlightenment with professional training, will show a growth in student body from 14,100 in 1927-28 to 56,400 in 1932-33. The peasants' courses and universities, because of their relatively weak position at the beginning of the five-year period, are expected to grow much more rapidly. Thus, whereas in 1927-28 their enrollment was only 9,900, in the last year embraced by the plan it presumably will have expanded to 98,200. The Soviet Party schools, which are specially designed to instill a revolutionary spirit in the masses and to prepare agitators and leaders in the cause of communism, will grow at a

somewhat more modest rate, or from 45,600 students in 1927-28 to 68,400 in 1932-33. Particular attention, however, will be devoted to the development of the Soviet Party school among the national minorities.

Attention also will be given to the organization of correspondence courses and self-education. In this field facts for the Union as a whole are very difficult to secure. Therefore we shall have to be content with data available from the Russian Republic. In this division of the country the plan calls for an increase in the number of persons reached by correspondence courses and measures of self-education from 165,210 in 1929-30 to 452,000 in 1932-33. The program of study provided in these agencies resembles very closely the curricula of the primary and secondary schools. The only difference of importance is that an effort is made to adapt the subject matter to the needs and interests of adults.

The nonscholastic educational agencies for adults embrace cottage reading rooms, libraries, clubs, and people's homes. The Five-Year Plan calls for a large expansion of this entire network of institutions. The number of cottage reading rooms will grow from 21,876 to 38,283. This will mean that each volost or rayon will be equipped with five or more of these agencies. The hope is that the cottage reading room will become the center of cultural work in the village and will serve to organize the more socially conscious peasants in the struggle for collectivism and the

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reconstruction of agriculture. According to the plan, it will be fitted out as a home of culture and be equipped to serve several hundred persons at one time.

The number of libraries will grow from 22,892 in 1927-28 to 34,338 in 1932-33; the number of people's and peasants' homes from 5,500 to 7,000; the number of clubs from 6,117 to 7,646; the number of workers' clubs from 3,746 to 4,526. The trade unions are being asked to improve the revolutionary quality of the educational work of their clubs and to strengthen their rôle in the realm of technology and production. In particular, this institution is expected to center its energies on the task of the cultural enlightenment of the new ranks of workers arriving from the country; and clubs in enterprises situated near the village are encouraged to draw the poor and middle peasantry into their work. The Plan also points out that the transition to the seven-hour working day will give the clubs of the trade unions the opportunity, and place upon them the responsibility, of utilizing the additional free time of workers in raising the cultural level of the masses. Thus the clubs in the cities and the cottage reading rooms in the villages are expected to serve as powerful instruments in the decisive reconstruction of the life of workers and peasants.

Cinema, Radio and Press. Closely related to the non-scholastic agencies of adult education are the cinema, the radio, and the press. These are among the most effective

channels through which the revolutionary forces are reaching mature men and women. They naturally receive much attention in the Five-Year Plan.

In 1927-28 the Soviet Union could boast 8,521 cinema theaters and stations: 4,839 in the cities and 3,682 in the villages. During that year more than 300 million spectators were served by these institutions. The Five-Year Plan proposes to increase the number of moving-picture stations to 34,700, of which 25,000 will be located in the villages. In order to take the cinema to the peasants, the plan calls for a huge program of construction. In 1932-33, according to expectations, the moving-picture houses of the Union will receive one billion six hundred million visits. About one-half of the cinema theaters serving the villages will travel from place to place, and approximately 5,000 clubs and 14,000 schools will be equipped with moving-picture apparatus. The number of commercial theaters, on the other hand, will increase but insignificantly during the five years. The Plan also contemplates a marked improvement in the quality of the Soviet film and a gradual substitution of the domestic for the foreign product.

Under the Five-Year Plan the network of radio stations will be systematically organized and developed. Although the number of transmission stations will be reduced from 60 to 50, their total power will be increased fourfold. At the end of 1928 the number of receiving sets in use in the

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Union was approximately 350 thousand, or five sets to every two thousand of the population. By 1932-33, according to the plan, this number will be increased eighteenfold. Moreover, a special effort will be made to reach the worker and the peasant. Thus, among the radio receiving stations will be included three million workers' apartments and three million peasant households. Since definite attention will be given to placing radio sets in institutions of all kinds, the effectiveness of the radio net will be increased more rapidly than the actual number of units. Loud speakers will be placed in cottage reading rooms, clubs, barracks, sovhozes, colhozes, people's homes, peasants' homes, schools, tea shops, dining rooms, and red corners in large enterprises. The number of persons listening to the radio will grow therefore from 2 million in 1927-28 to 40 million at the end of the five-year period.

The press likewise is by no means neglected in the Five-Year Plan. In the most prosperous year of the publishing business pre-revolutionary Russia, including Poland and the Baltic states, published but 119 million copies of books. In 1924-25 this number was surpassed in the Soviet Union; in 1927-28 approximately 21,700 titles and 221 million copies issued from the press; and in 1932-33 these figures are expected to reach 49 thousand and 619 million, respectively. If this goal is achieved the highest level of pre-revolutionary publication will be surpassed almost five times. The magnitude of the change contemplated can be

visualized best, perhaps, in terms of the number of books per inhabitant: this number will grow from 1.4 in 1927-28 to 4.0 in 1932-33.

The plan, however, does not limit itself to questions of quantity. While no department of publication escapes attention, the largest increases are contemplated in the fields of school, political, technical, trade, and agricultural books. The development of the national literatures of the various peoples inhabiting the Union will also be stimulated conciderably. For example, the proportion of the total output of the Soviet press, published in the Ukrainian language, will be raised from 12.2 to 17.3 per cent. Corresponding changes for the White Russian language will be from .81 to 1.81 per cent, for Uzbek from .90 to 2.17 per cent, for the Trans-Caucasian languages from 2.66 to 2.89 per cent, and for the languages of Turkomanistan from .02 to .42 per cent.

A corresponding growth in the publication of magazines and newspapers is also provided for in the plan. In 1927-28 the issue of magazines involved the printing of 708 million folios; in 1932-33 this figure will be raised to 2,125 million. This growth is due very largely to the increase in the circulation of popular journals. The proposed expansion of the newspaper is even more impressive: during the five-year period in the Russian Republic alone the number of copies will grow from 2,000 million to 6,300 million.

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The Five-Year Plan gives considerable attention to such questions as the lowering of prices of books, newspapers, and journals and the improvement of the quality of the products of the press. Even the apparatus for the distribution of these products is not overlooked. Special consideration is given to strengthening and developing the facilities for supplying books to factory, mill, and rural communities. In this connection the use of coöperative arrangements will be greatly fostered.

Post and Telegraph. The rôle of the post and the telegraph in the cultural and educational development of the country will be enlarged extensively during the five years. Paid postal exchange will increase 181 per cent, letters and postal cards 153 per cent, periodical publications 202 per cent, and the number of telegraph patrons 170 per cent. The machinery of the postal system and other forms of communication will be improved. The number of rural communities served by the post will grow from 49 to 65 per cent of the total number of communities in the Union. Also, the wide use of auto transport, the construction of better postal wagons, the broad utilization of air and waterways, and a marked development of rural delivery are all included in the program. Correspondingly, close attention is being given to the extension of the telephone service. New buildings for post and telegraph in rural communities will be erected and improved equipment will be installed. Finally, the plan makes provision for

the promotion of scientific research and technical laboratory investigation in the province of communications.

Material Basis of Education. The gigantic program of cultural construction which has been outlined naturally calls for equally extraordinary expenditures. Indeed, the success of the program is clearly contingent upon the finding of the necessary financial resources. For cultural construction alone, including health protection, 16 billion 320 million rubles will have to be found during the five years. Of this amount 10 and one-half billions will go to education. In addition, more than one billion rubles will be devoted to the material maintenance of students attending the secondary and higher schools. The expenditures on education will include capital construction to the extent of 900 million rubles for elementary education, 350 million rubles for general secondary education, 150 million rubles for higher schools, 140 million rubles for technicums, and about 45 millions for scientific institutions. The remainder will be consumed in current expenses, such as salaries of teachers, equipment, and supplies. Clearly, the cultural Five-Year Plan, if successful, will go far towards removing that cultural backwardness which has been traditionally associated with Russian civilization.

PART THREE THE MOBILIZATION OF HUMAN RESOURCES



CHAPTER X

THE PROPAGATION OF THE PLAN

In THE light of the cultural and technical backwardness of the country and in view of the exhausting efforts called forth by war, revolution and famine, the Five-Year Plan as outlined is truly, as the Soviet leaders so often say, "a program of great works." Under the conditions, particularly if credits cannot be secured from other countries, the fulfillment of the plan will require the united and even enthusiastic support of the great masses of the people and the mobilization of the entire human resources of the Union. This fact has been clearly recognized by the government from the day the plan was first contemplated. The thorough way in which the problem has been attacked will be described in the following pages.

The mobilization of the human resources of the country in a gigantic effort to carry the plan through to a successful conclusion assumes three different forms or aspects. First, and most fundamental of all, is the task simply of propagating the plan among the masses and of explaining to them its major purposes and provisions. And in order

that their interest may be aroused, its relations to their work and aspirations must be made unmistakably clear. The second task is that of training the thousands and hundreds of thousands of qualified workers, technicians, engineers, leaders, and propagandists demanded by the program of construction. This in itself is a responsibility of immense proportions and must be borne very largely by the system of schools. Then there is the problem of the maintenance of the morale of the population during a prolonged period requiring enormous sacrifice. Obviously it is not enough that the population be informed about the plan and that the necessary specialists be prepared. In the prosecution of this vast social undertaking, much as in the waging of a great war, success must depend to a large extent on the courage and the steadfastness of the ordinary worker in the ranks. In the present chapter attention will be centered on the chief measures which the Soviet authorities have developed for the purpose of propagating the plan throughout the length and breadth of the Union.

The task of acquainting the people with the Five-Year Plan has been greatly simplified by the attractiveness of the idea itself. Whoever conceived the thought of formulating a five-year plan of construction, if any single individual did conceive it, must have been a shrewd observer of human nature and a keen student of popular psychology. A plan of construction embracing five years can be made sufficiently comprehensive in scope to impress the

mind with its proportions. At the same time the goal set is not so distant as to paralyze the will to achieve. Consequently, after the plan was once launched it seemed to spread through the masses on its own momentum. In numberless instances it has gone far beyond the limits reached by conscious propaganda. However, an organized and systematic effort has been made to utilize almost every conceivable agency in carrying the basic provisions of the plan to the population. The account which follows is by no means exhaustive and includes only those measures which seem to have been most effective.

The Government, the Party, and the Trade Unions. Among the most important agencies for the propagation of the Five-Year Plan are the various official and unofficial bodies which participated in its formulation. The project was not conceived and matured in a day. It grew out of long experience in planning and was the product of the combined efforts of responsible groups and institutions working over a period between two and three years. The system of planning organs which was peculiarly responsible for the form which the plan assumed reaches out into the most distant republics and regions and provides a network of channels through which ideas flow back and forth. As a consequence, when the plan was finally presented to the government its major provisions were already known and understood by great numbers of specialists.

From the standpoint of reaching the wide masses of the

population, the soviets were probably more important than the planning system. Throughout the period during which the plan was being developed it received the constant attention of the higher organs of government and thence must have filtered down into the very lowest soviets. Because of the representative principle underlying the political system there is also a constant exchange of ideas and personnel between the center and the periphery. Delegates sent from the lower to the higher soviets discussed the plan and heard it discussed as it was being shaped. This means that through the channels of government, as well as through the channels of the Planning Commission, the provisions of the Five-Year Plan were carried into the shops and factories and villages of the Union.

There is one aspect of the plan which merits special attention at this point. In its very nature it aroused innumerable discussions and controversies in the different sections of the country. The plan calls for large economic developments, and large economic developments call for large financial expenditures. That each district should wish to secure for itself as large a share in these expenditures as possible is evident to anyone familiar with the political history of the United States. The representatives of various areas and nationalities, like American congressmen, were eager to promote the interests of their own constituencies. This led to sharp debates over the plan and also to a wide propagation of its provisions.

As an instrument for carrying the plan to the masses the Communist Party should be ranked far above the organs of government. Being the legatee of the Lenin tradition and the recognized champion of the revolutionary cause, it is closely identified with the whole history of planning in the Soviet Union. Moreover, in a very definite sense the Party was the creator of the Five-Year Plan. It gave birth to the idea and then led the struggle both in the government and in the country at large for the preparation and the launching of the plan.

The organization and discipline of the Party make it a peculiarly powerful instrument for the propagation of any idea to which it commits itself. Although its membership, including candidates is somewhat less than two millions, its cells spread like a net over the Union, reaching from the Baltic to the Pacific and from the hot sands of Turkestan to the snows of Spitzbergen. And since every member of the Party is bound by its decisions and is expected to defend its policies against any odds, its power bears no relation to its numerical strength. Consequently, after the Party had approved the Five-Year Plan its members, wherever they found themselves and regardless of their numbers, were morally bound to become active champions of the program of construction. To be sure, the factional differences which arose in the formulation of the guiding principles of the plan no doubt weakened the Party to some extent. Yet this organization must be regarded as the most powerful of

all the forces which have supported the plan and endeavored to convey its provisions to the people.

Closely related to the Communist Party are the professional unions. Enrolling more than eleven million workers they constitute a quasi-governmental agency which has shared with the Party the major responsibility of pushing forward the Five-Year Plan during its early stages. Their strength lies in their numbers and in the fact that their membership includes, as a chief constituent, the proletariat—the class in whose name the revolutionary struggle was waged. They occupy therefore a position of great prestige in the country and have a genuine voice in the making of all important decisions. Even the Party must cultivate assiduously the goodwill of the industrial unions. The workers have been told so often that they rule the country that they accept the statement as axiomatic. They consequently participated in the making of the plan and feel a genuine responsibility for its success.

The temper of the proletariat in the Soviet Union is so important that a further word should be said in this connection. The more experienced Soviet workers possess an extraordinary degree of social consciousness and in a way perhaps are the best-informed laboring class in the world. This is recognized at once by the foreign observer who has the opportunity to mingle with them. He finds them extremely intelligent about social and political conditions, not only in their own country, but in the other countries of the

world. This active quality of the Soviet worker is well exemplified in a recent resolution passed by the Communist Party, strongly urging its members to engage in the study of foreign languages. All through the Union today ordinary workers are taking courses in English, German, French and Esperanto.

The professional unions, because of the central position which they occupy in the state and the power which they wield, are building club houses and labor palaces everywhere. In these centers the workers hold numerous meetings at which they listen to long reports and discussions on questions which have to do with the general welfare and development of the country. The point should be emphasized that these meetings are confined by no means to questions which are narrowly related to what in other countries would be called the interests of labor. Perhaps one of the most amazing spectacles in the Soviet Union today is a large audience of mechanics or carpenters listening attentively to an exhaustive recital of the development of collective enterprise among the peasants, of the number of tractors being sent into the villages, and of the probable increase in the seeded area for the ensuing year. Such things, however, are happening, and they give some measure of the interest which the trade unions are taking in the fulfillment of the Five-Year Plan.

The work of the trade unions with respect to the propagation of the plan has not been left to chance. The July

plenum of the Central Executive Committee of the Party in 1928 outlined definitely the responsibilities of these organizations. Subsequently, directions for the conduct of study groups within the unions were issued in printed form. In a small pamphlet entitled, A Typical Program of Professional Literacy, the methods to be followed in the work are outlined, subjects suggested, and bibliographies appended. While this program covers a very wide field, the Five-Year Plan seems to run through all of the thirteen topics listed: ways of building socialism, fundamental problems of the trade unions during the period of the reconstruction of the economy, trade unions and socialistic competition, protection of the material interests of workers, regulation of the conditions of labor and labor conflicts, protection of labor and social insurance, questions regarding the life of workers, the cultural revolution and the cultural educational work of the trade unions, principles of union organization, mass organized work of trade unions and the lower union cell, work of trade unions in the village, trade unions and the Party, international problems of the trade unions of the Soviet Union. Through this program, which is expected to reach the less active elements within the unions, the provisions of the Five-Year Plan and the relation of the plan to the life of workers are fully explained and discussed.

The Young Communists and the Pioneers. Under the direct and indirect tutelage of the Communist Party are a

series of societies designed for children and youth. Immediately below the Party is the Lenin Union of Communist Youth which enrolls young people between the ages of fourteen and twenty-three years, inclusive. There then follow the Young Pioneers who range in age from eleven to sixteen, and two other organizations for yet younger children. Attention here will be confined wholly to the Young Communists and the Pioneers.

From the standpoint of the propagation of the plan there is one point of very great significance in the relations of these Communist societies to one another. There is an overlapping of ages between the Communists and the Young Communists and between the Young Communists and the Pioneers. As a consequence, the older members in each of the two lower organizations are likely to hold membership at the same time in the organization immediately above. Such an interlocking arrangement places the responsible leadership of the entire movement among children and youth in the hands of members of the Party. This means that the problems which hold the attention of the Party at any moment will also agitate the societies for youth and children. It also means that occasionally the Party may be influenced by ideas and movements originating in the ranks of these lower organizations.

The Young Communists, numbering approximately three millions in the autumn of 1930, constitute one of the most powerful social and political forces in the Union.

Throughout their history they have played a peculiarly active rôle in the building of the new order. Appearing quite spontaneously at the time of the revolution, they have been quick to come to the defense of the cause whenever and wherever it has been threatened. In the civil war they formed an important part of the Soviet forces; and today, along with the members of the Party, they make up the backbone of the Red Army. Organized after the pattern of the Party, they are widely distributed through the Union, hold their special conferences, and publish their own organs. Their official newspaper, the Komsomol Pravda, is one of the most outspoken and spirited journals published in the country.

This active quality, which has always characterized the Young Communists, is now being given an unusual opportunity to express itself in the propagation of the Five-Year Plan. And they are living up to their tradition. One of the first tasks exacted of a candidate for admission to the society is that of becoming intimately familiar with this program of construction. His responsibility, however, does not rest with the acquisition of knowledge. Being peculiarly self-conscious and devoted to the revolutionary cause, he must be ready at any time and at any point to come to the support of the program. In particular, he must lead the trade unions, help educate new recruits coming from the village, serve as a model laborer in the factory, participate in the formation of the

shock brigades ⁵ of industry, and take advantage of every opportunity to arouse the interest of his fellow worker in the Five-Year Plan.

The official representatives of the Young Communists in conference have outlined at great length the tasks which a loyal member of the society must perform in the propagation of the plan. Among other things, they have developed methods for conducting talks at the meetings of the trade unions. These talks are aimed primarily at the newcomers from the village. According to the suggested outline they should begin with an analysis of "the essence of the Five-Year Plan as a program in the building of socialism." Other major topics to be illuminated are "The Difficulties of the Achievement of the Five-Year Plan," "The Conditions Indispensable to the Realization of the Five-Year Plan," "The Tasks of the Trade Unions in the Period of Reconstruction," and "The Tasks of Youth in the Realization of the Five-Year Plan." Also, each of these major topics is divided into a number of subtopics, instructions are given for independent work on the part of the student, and literature is suggested for both the student and the leader.

The Young Communist is expected not only to propagate the Five-Year Plan by word of mouth but also to propagate it by action. He is asked to assume leadership at his place of work in developing and following all of

⁵ See Chapter XII.

those practices that are necessary to increase the productivity of labor and lower the cost of production. Apparently he has been chiefly responsible for the popularizing of the idea of socialistic competition and for the organization of the shock brigades which bear the brunt of the attack on both the economic and the cultural fronts. This extraordinary activity of the Young Communists would seem to have a relatively simple explanation. The revolutionary movement in general and the Five-Year Plan in particular make a powerful appeal to those qualities which youth everywhere is supposed to possess. And the youth of Soviet Russia has responded.

The Pioneers are the younger brothers and sisters of the Young Communists and in the autumn of 1930 possessed a numerical strength of about four millions. The Pioneers are also a very powerful organization. In propagating the Five-Year Plan their importance scarcely can be exaggerated. Soviet children generally are extremely active in political matters and are very quick to assume responsibilities of a social nature. The Pioneers appear to exhibit these traits in a very unusual measure. They regard themselves, and apparently are regarded by others, as the responsible leaders and guardians of children in the Union.

The power of the Young Pioneers as an agency of propaganda was clearly revealed in their last All-Union conference which was held in Moscow in the month of August,

1929. At that time there gathered in the capital city approximately seven thousand delegates from Pioneer troops in all parts of the Union. The primary object of the conference was to direct the attention and the energies of children towards the fulfillment of the Five-Year Plan; and it was addressed by some of the most responsible spokesmen of the Party, the Planning Commission, and the government. The delegates displayed intense enthusiasm over the plan and seemed to understand what was meant by the industrialization of the country and the socialistic reconstruction of the village. There is much evidence to indicate that great numbers carried this enthusiasm with them when they returned to their own communities. The general purpose and spirit of the conference are well preserved in the following statement, issued by the president of the central bureau of the organization: "To draw millions of Pioneers and school children into the channel of socialistic construction is a matter of tremendous political importance. The participation of children within their power in the daily work of the Party and the Young Communists is the only way of educating the new man. The struggle for the Five-Year Plan must contribute to the improvement and the deepening of the entire social activity of the Pioneers and school children, must become the center of all of the work of the schools and the Pioneer organization."

The Pioneers have agreed first of all to study thor-

oughly and to become familiar with the major provisions of the Five-Year Plan and thus to carry the plan to their parents and to other adult members of the community. They have also taken upon themselves numerous tasks that are designed to contribute to the fulfillment of the program of construction. They have assumed special interest in the liquidation of illiteracy and have contracted to teach thousands of adults to read and write; they have concluded an agreement with the Commissariat of Trade to collect all kinds of useful scraps, such as paper, old iron, bones, rags, and twine, amounting to 20 kilograms for each Pioneer; they have agreed to help in the protection and the repair of roads and bridges; they have engaged to install 75,000 radio receiving stations in the villages and to place a loud speaker in every school; they have pledged themselves to explain to their parents and to the population at large the importance and the advantages of collective forms of economy; they have promised to insure the 100 per cent sorting of seeds in communes and on their parents' farms; they have accepted from the Commissariat of Agriculture the task of guarding the harvest from pests and of thus saving the country 2,621,800 rubles during the five years; they have each undertaken to catch or destroy 5 rats and 10 mice annually; they have signed a contract with the Poultry Trust to organize in the course of five years five thousand children's poultry-raising brotherhoods, to construct five thousand collective poultry

breeders, and to build five thousand chicken houses; they have promised to add two good laying hens to the possessions of every peasant household and thus give to the state 50 million hens, five billion eggs, and approximately 150 million rubles; they have assumed responsibility for waging an unrelenting warfare on mosquitoes, bedbugs, roaches, and flies in 500,000 households; and, finally, they have promised to insure the perpetuation of their own organization by adopting the slogan of "one pre-school child for every Pioneer."

The Five-Year Plan seems to have affected the Pioneers in the most profound way. It has caused them to overhaul and revise from top to bottom their so-called laws and customs which supposedly serve as guides to conduct; it has caused them also to increase the number of these injunctions from ten to twenty. Formerly this code included such relatively insipid and girlish patter as: The Pioneer organizes other children and joins with them in their life; The Pioneer is an example to all children; The Pioneer protects his own health and that of others; The Pioneer is tolerant and cheerful; The Pioneer rises early in the morning and does his setting-up exercises; The Pioneer is saving of the people's property, is careful with his books and clothes and the equipment of the workshop; The Pioneer does not swear, smoke, or drink.

Now the code says that The Pioneer supports the growth of factories and mills, technical knowledge, and labor

discipline and that The Pioneer is the friend of the poor, an active participant in the war for the harvest, an aid to the colhoz, the sovhoz, and the commune.

The leaders of the organization admit that until the appearance of the plan they had experienced difficulty in discovering an adequate outlet for the energies of these youngsters. This was due in part to the fact that they underestimated the capacity of children to engage in serious social activity. Their experience with the plan, on the other hand, has convinced them that boys and girls do not naturally live in a special world of their own and participate in undertakings which divide them from the rest of society. Certainly anyone who has listened to children delegates from the far corners of the Union discussing the problems of their communities and the obstacles which they encounter in guiding the footsteps of their elders along the straight and narrow path of civic rectitude must conclude that Soviet children at least can be made to take a very active interest in such a complex and abstract problem as the building of a new social order.

Oral Propaganda and Pageantry. The earliest method of propagating the Five-Year Plan was that of oral speech. In the process of developing the project, as we have seen, innumerable conferences and discussions were held all over the Union. Also, when specific proposals were brought before the Party and the government, they were subjected to critical examination in the form of talks,

reports, addresses, and debates. Likewise, all organizations which have been more or less intimately associated with the formulation of the plan, such as the trade unions, have been centers of oral propaganda. As the plan has swept over the countryside it has become the central topic of conversation and dispute in workers' homes, peasants' cottages, coöperative shops, and wherever two or three people have gathered together. But our major interest here is in the provision that has been made for the systematic organization of talks and lectures on the Five-Year Plan.

In the Department of Political Enlightenment of the Commissariat of Education in each of the constituent republics there exists a lecture bureau. In the propagation of the Five-Year Plan these bureaus have organized great numbers of lectures and have made a special effort to reach the villages. Commonly speakers are sent out in threes. One reports on the industrial program, one on the agricultural program, and one on the cultural program. The workers in this field have been recruited chiefly from students and the more active participants in the proletariat. Scientists, teachers, and specialists generally have also been used.

In the winter of 1929-30 much more ambitious plans were undertaken. According to these plans, brigades of 30 workers each were sent into the villages and into certain sections of the cities. Each brigade presumably was

equipped with maps, placards, slides, cinema films, and popular books on the Five-Year Plan and was expected to reach one hundred thousand persons a month. These companies of militant champions of the building of socialism were not formed merely in the large cities. Brigades from the great population centers went to smaller cities and there recruited brigades which in turn carried the work into towns and villages. The Soviet Party schools play the major rôle in the preparation of persons to organize and lead this movement.

The organization of lectures, moreover, does not proceed entirely from the central commissariat of education of a republic. The various local departments apparently may conduct this work on their own initiative. The only restrictions placed upon them are those of ambition and resources. Thus the Lecture Excursion Bureau of the Department of Political Enlightenment of the Moscow Province arranged for the year 1929-30 a comprehensive program for the oral presentation of the Five-Year Plan. This program was divided into two parts: the first was entitled "Lectures and Talks" and the second "Cinema Lectures." The former embraced six divisions, and 109 separate topics; the latter included nine divisions and 47 different lectures.

Closely related to the organization of oral propaganda is the use of pageantry. In the conduct of parades and processions the Communists have no superiors. On the

occasion of the anniversary of the revolution, the recognition of the international labor movement, the commemorization of the death of Lenin, the death of some outstanding member of the Party, the report of a significant development in world politics, or the successful completion of an important project of construction, a revolutionary celebration takes place. Great parades are formed, long columns of workers march through the streets to the rhythm of the militant songs of the world proletariat, and in Moscow all lines converge on the Red Square where, in the presence of the tomb of Lenin, vast crowds listen to addresses by the Soviet leaders. Since the launching of the Five-Year Plan these celebrations have been made occasions for its systematic propagation.

The Press and the Radio. The press is obviously one of the most effective means for the propagation of the Five-Year Plan. In any advanced country it is powerful, but in the Soviet Union it is peculiarly powerful because of the fact that it is definitely and completely controlled by the state. Consequently, when the government seeks to promote any idea, whether it be an item of foreign policy or a great program of construction, the entire press will agree and speak with a single voice. Newspapers, periodicals, and books will all support the line taken by the political authorities.

In 1928-29 there were in the whole of Soviet Russia 605 newspapers with a total daily edition of 13,500,000.

Throughout the entire period that the Five-Year Plan has been under discussion these newspapers, appearing in the different languages of the Union, have sought to enlighten the people with regard to both the provisions and the objectives of the plan. Some of these publications, such as the *Pravda*, the official organ of the Communist Party, and the *Izvestia*, the corresponding organ of the government, enjoy a Union-wide circulation and speak with peculiar authority. They naturally set the pattern and the tone for papers serving more restricted areas.

The amount of attention devoted to the Five-Year Plan by the more important papers is enormous. If the period of the Great War be excepted, nothing comparable to it can be found in the American or capitalistic press. Every number of a newspaper is saturated with items about the plan. These items include addresses and articles by responsible leaders, numerous discussions of both theoretical and practical questions, and an uninterrupted report on the progress of the plan throughout the country. This last point will be elaborated in a later chapter.

Of periodicals, there were in the Union in 1928-29 approximately 1,700 with an annual edition of 20,955 issues and a total circulation for the year of 320 million copies. These journals are issued by responsible departments of the government, professional unions, scientific bodies, and institutions of various kinds. They are devoted to politics, economics, labor, coöperation, jurisprudence,

education, exact science, technology, military science, medicine, agriculture, literature, art, religion, atheism, and other interests. The point to be kept in mind, however, is that practically all of them are filling their pages with matter on the Five-Year Plan. In their treatment of the subject they supplement rather than compete with the newspapers. Their approach is always more fundamental, more systematic, and more specialized in character than that provided in the daily press. In particular, the various technical and theoretical questions which arise in the various departments of the program of construction are made the subject of careful analysis and discussion.

The book press of the Soviet Union is served by 32 publishing houses. Of these, the most important is the great State Publishing House in Moscow—probably the largest institution of its kind in the world. Although the book press naturally arrived on the scene somewhat later than the newspapers and periodicals, by the end of 1929 it was belching forth materials on the Five-Year Plan. The first publication to appear presented the plan itself as developed by the Planning Commission. This report appeared in three volumes and set forth in detail the provisions of the two variants of the plan as originally formulated. There have followed many other books of a highly technical nature, such as the huge volume on black metallurgy, which are designed to guide the work of construction in its details. But from the standpoint of

quantity chief attention seems to have been devoted to carrying the program to the people.

In propagating the plan among the masses three important measures have been taken. As quickly as possible after the formulation and approval of the plan numerous small brochures, containing from eight to twenty thousand words each and dealing with the plan as a whole and with its separate divisions, were issued. Then an effort was made to publish similar brochures on the relation of the plan to the different regions of the country. Finally, the attention of the press was directed towards the preparation of special books to be used in schools of different grades.

The publications of the first two types, which were designed primarily to carry the plan to the people, merit particular examination here. These small brochures were published in a number of series. One series appeared under the general title of *Our Economy Through Five Years* and included volumes on the Five-Year Plan as a whole, finance, industry, culture, coöperation, agriculture, and trade. Most of these brochures were issued in editions of 200 thousand copies. Another very important series was entitled *To Overtake and Surpass* and embraced the subjects of coal, oil, electricity, metals, grain, textiles, and lumber. In this series the edition in each case was 100,000 copies. There were series dealing with the relation of the Five-Year Plan to different regions, to the uninterrupted

week, to socialistic competition, and to shock brigades. Other series were designed for special groups in the population, such as the peasants or the industrial workers. After the close of the first year a series was published which reported the achievements of the first year and the control figures for the second. This was followed throughout the second year and the beginning of the third year by the publication of reports of progress, revisions of the program, perspectives of the near and remote future, and numerous important documents dealing with the plan, such as Stalin's speeches and the pronouncements of the Party and the government. All of these volumes are written in simple style and clearly designed to make the masses intelligent about the plan.

Some idea of the extent of this effort to popularize the Five-Year Plan may be gained from an examination of the work of the State Publishing House in Moscow. By the first of December, 1929, this one agency had printed 14 volumes for qualified readers with a total issue of 1,569,500 copies, and 25 volumes for the general reader with a total issue of 4,493,000 copies. On that date there were in the press 6 volumes for qualified readers with a total edition of 2,975,500 books, and 21 volumes for the ordinary reader with a total edition of 1,699,000 books. At that time the State Publishing House was planning to issue forty more volumes for popularizing and propagating the plan. Thus the statement may be made that

the Soviet book press has literally flooded the country with literature on the program of construction.

A point of particular importance to be observed here is that ample provision has been made, not only for the publication, but also for the distribution of these books. Through a system of bookshops and booths conducted as educational agencies, as well as by means of connections with workers' clubs, cottage reading rooms, and people's homes, the publications of the press are brought to the attention of the public without delay. Prices are fixed with a view to making the books accessible to the great masses of the people. The volumes mentioned are sold for from seven to fifteen kopecks apiece. Plans have been completed for printing a series of little pamphlets, issued in editions of 500,000, which will contain from eight to sixteen pages and will be sold for one kopeck each.

There is yet another division of the Soviet press which is taking an active part in the propagation of the Five-Year Plan, a division which is not subject to the direct censorship of the government. In every factory, school, club, reading room, office, in every important institution may be found the wall newspaper. This organ of opinion, which first appeared during the period of civil war and famine and scarcity, is a real force to be reckoned with. On a sheet of paper pinned or tacked to the wall vigorous and pointed criticisms regarding the management of the institution and the conduct of life generally are recorded.

Since Party members, Young Communists, Pioneers, and other active elements in the working class are found everywhere, the Five-Year Plan has inevitably been made an important subject of discussion in this newspaper.

As a final product of the press mention should be made of placards, posters, maps, and labels. Since 1917 Soviet citizens have become past masters in the graphic and pictorial representation of revolutionary ideas, themes, and movements. Through the good offices of the Association of the Artists of the Revolution, an organization founded in 1922 primarily for the purpose of making art accessible to the masses, a certain artistic quality has been given this work. Beginning with a membership of fifty persons, the association has grown until it enrolls close to 300,000 artists distributed throughout the Union and even in foreign countries. Among the various responsibilities which it has assumed is the devotion of art to the building of the communist state.

These artists were quick to see the possibilities in the Five-Year Plan. By the end of 1929 they had issued thirty-five different placards dealing with the program of construction. The themes developed are quite similar to those which have served the book press. There are placards representing the plan as a whole and placards for its separate parts: placards for industry, for agriculture, for the uninterrupted week, for socialistic competition, and for the cultural program. This particular instrument of propa-

ganda is ordinarily issued in quantities of from 30 to 60 thousand copies, and second editions are common. The Association of the Artists of the Revolution does not work alone: many placards are produced independently by the various publishing houses of the Union. As a consequence, placards representing the plan are widely distributed through the country and may be found on the walls of factories, shops, schools, libraries, railroad stations, and wherever they may be expected to attract the attention of numbers of persons.

In the Winter of 1929-30 persons interested in the propagation of the Five-Year Plan turned their minds to the discovery of new measures and devices. Some ardent Communist suggested that the slogans of the plan should appear on the various commodities produced by the Soviet factories.

No doubt by the present time labels urging that the costs of production be lowered, that the collectivization of agriculture be pushed ahead, that the Five-Year Plan be achieved in four years are affixed to match boxes, cigarettes, soap, and perhaps other commodities of daily use. Five-Year Plan stamps are carrying letters to the United States and other parts of the world. It would seem that the Soviet citizen who would escape this avalanche of propaganda must be blind, deaf, and perhaps defective in other directions. Even then, unless he chose to isolate himself completely from society, he would probably find

his solitude broken by some device invented by an ingenious proponent of the Five-Year Plan.

In the early days of the revolution Lenin is reported to have said that the radio is the unwritten newspaper of the masses. Whether this statement is apocryphal or not, it contains the guiding principle in the development of the radio in the Soviet Union. As we have seen, the country is equipped with some fifty radio transmission stations which are distributed according to plan from Archangel to Baku and from Minsk to Vladivostok. Through a vast network of receiving sets, which is being extended every day, these stations serve as centers for the systematic report to the masses of the fortunes of the Five-Year Plan.

The work of the radio, in so far as it is devoted to the program of construction, is divided into three parts. First, all significant reports of a general character with regard to the plan are sent out over the radio; second, the proceedings of all important conferences dealing with the plan, such as the conferences of the Planning Commission and the central executive committees, are carried to the people through the radio; third, all major achievements in the fulfillment of the plan are reported from day to day by means of the so-called radio newspaper. This institution, which in content is much like the ordinary newspaper, constitutes such an important part of the radio program that it merits examination in some detail.

The radio newspaper is prepared by a responsible bureau

in the Commissariat of Post and Telegraph and is organized in a number of editions designed to reach different classes of listeners. There are editions for industrial workers, for peasants, for agricultural laborers, for women, for the Red Army, for the Young Communists, for the Pioneers, and for other groups in the population. Since the linguistic complexion of the Union is so variegated and since the Soviet government has no scruples against informing peoples living beyond the borders of the country about the plan, the paper is prepared in various tongues. Among these are Russian, Ukrainian, White Russian, Tartar, Uzbek, Armenian, Georgian, Chinese, Korean, English, and German.

In reporting the progress of the plan the paper again follows the injunction of Lenin that the material presented should not be purely informational. In addition to facts it includes evaluations and strives to make a personal appeal to the radio audience. The preparation of the newspaper in separate editions represents an obvious effort to make the paper interesting. Finally, provision is made for the promotion of discussion and the raising of questions. The listeners are encouraged to send queries to the great central stations; answers are then prepared and broadcasted. Ten minutes of the hour devoted to the newspaper are given to these so-called discussions.

The Cinema and the Theater. The cinema, through its eight or ten thousand stations distributed among theaters,

clubs, homes, schools, and other institutions, is devoting a great deal of energy to the propagation of the Five-Year Plan. There is first the newsreel, which forms a part of practically every moving-picture program given in the country. This film seeks to do for the cinema what the radio newspaper does for the radio. It reports by means of the moving picture the progress of the plan. There may be an item on the construction of the hydroelectric station on the Dnieper, an item on the building of a metallurgical factory in the Urals, and an item on the raising of cotton on a state farm in Turkestan. Any important conference called to consider the plan or any significant speech regarding the plan may be included.

The second part of the cinema program is much more ambitious in character. A great effort is being made to produce films which take their themes from the Five-Year Plan and the general program for the social reconstruction of the country. The bureau in the Commissariat of Education, which is responsible for the general supervision and promotion of the moving picture, draws up from year to year long lists of subjects which are expected to serve as suggestions to persons interested in writing scenarios. The launching of the Five-Year Plan radically altered the composition of this list and reduced the amount of attention given to the political and military aspects of the revolution.

For the two-year period from 1929 to 1931 the bureau [167]

adopted a list of 275 themes which cover in a most thorough fashion the political, economic, social, and cultural tasks of the present program of construction. Among the subjects suggested were The Five-Year Plan, Industrialization, Socialistic Competition, The Struggle for Labor Discipline, Socialistic Rationalization, The Transition to the Uninterrupted Week, The Tractor Strikes the Kulak, The War for Colhozes, The War for the Harvest, Against Opportunism and Reconciliation, The Advanced Guard of the Proletariat in the Village, Down with the Nepman and the Kulak, The Face of the Class Enemy, For Self-Criticism, The Problems of the Press, The War with Illiteracy, The Heroism of Labor, Against the Aristocracy of Workers, Social Labor of Children, Prostitution and Its Prevention, Against Religion, Against Racial Discriminations, We Do Not Want War But We Are Ready For It, Capitalistic Rationalization, Workers' Bureaucracy, The Grave of the Unknown Soldier, The First Year of the Five-Year Plan, The Day of Collectivization, Science and Industry, The Utilization of the Power of the Wind.

In order to insure the production of films which will meet the need for the propagation of the plan, definite instructions for each of the themes are sent to prospective authors. The following statement, which may be taken as a sample, is supposed to guide the author in presenting the subject of industrialization: "The formula of industrialization embraces that peculiar synthesis of metals, fuel,

and chemistry which we call heavy industry. Industrial development is measured in terms of the growth of machine industry and the raising of the manufacture of the tools of production. The peasants sometimes ask why so much attention and money are devoted to heavy industry and so little to agriculture, and why so little is said and thought about agriculture. The development of the rural economy depends on the development of heavy industry. In order to achieve success in agriculture it is necessary to give to the peasant modern machinery: the plow, the planter, the threshing machine, and the tractor; it is necessary to give him artificial fertilizers and to aid him in the struggle with parasites. All of these things heavy industry will give the peasant." This guiding statement is taken from the writings of Rikov, President of the Council of People's Commissars, and Krzhizhanovsky, former President of the State Planning Commission. Obviously a conscientious effort is made to prevent the authors of these moving-picture scenarios from making mistakes.

Among the more important films already produced are The Report to Millions and Turksib. The first, as its title implies, is a report to the people regarding the achievements in the field of construction under the Five-Year Plan. It begins by taking the observer on a survey of the Soviet Union and showing to him the enormous extent and variety of its resources. It then conducts him on a tour of inspection of the more important projects of con-

struction under way and relates everything observed to the building of socialism and the ideal society. To a citizen of the Union who feels the slightest pride in his country, it should be a genuinely thrilling picture.

More striking, however, is the other film, which presents the case for the construction of the thousand-mile railroad between Turkestan and Siberia. The picture opens with a descriptive account of the resources of the two areas. The observer is then introduced to the centuryold methods of transportation which prevailed until the building of the railroad. He accompanies a caravan across the deserts of Turkestan and passes through a devastating sand storm which causes delay and destroys merchandise. Thereafter he follows the process of construction from the work of the surveyors to the running of the first locomotive over a section of the completed road. Finally, he is told by pictures that the two regions can now specialize in the production of those goods for which each is naturally fitted. Thus Turkestan will no longer be forced to dissipate its energies in the production of grain, but will be able to devote all of its attention to the growing of rice, cotton, and other products adapted to the climate. The needed grain and timber will be secured in exchange from Siberia. The building of Turksib will therefore stimulate the economic and cultural development of both regions. This picture also tells a thrilling story.

Even the theater is producing plays which take their

inspiration from the program of construction. Among those already presented before Soviet audiences are The Rage and The Shot. The central theme of the former is the collectivization of agriculture. The scene is laid in a typical small Russian village with its overwhelming population of poor, ignorant, and superstitious peasants. The attempt of the government to introduce collectivism into this community meets with bitter and violent opposition on the part of the kulaks, while the great body of villagers remain indifferent. The conflict takes place between the kulaks, led by the priest, and a small handful of self-conscious poor peasants under the guidance of the school teacher. With the aid of a corrupt village soviet the kulaks succeed in taking possession of the tractor which was originally intended for the poor peasants. The tractor is rescued at the critical moment, the villains are completely routed, the entire village enters into a collective, and the principles of the revolution triumph. Something very much like this has occurred in scores and perhaps hundreds of Russian villages.

The Shot portrays in equally dramatic fashion certain phases of the struggle for the industrialization of the country. The play is based upon a poem by Bezimensky which was dramatized by Meyerhold. The spectators are taken into a factory and introduced to a Young Communist cell. The weaknesses and shortcomings, as well as the virtues and excellent spirit of the Young Communists, are

realistically represented. They form shock brigades and are ever ready to meet emergencies. Their enthusiasm and devotion inspire older workers also to organize brigades and strive to raise the efficiency of production. Certain of the Young Communists, however, selfishly desire all the glory for themselves and dislike the rivalry of their elders; and others sacrifice the cause upon the altars of Venus. But this play also has its villains. A small group of workers, lacking in self-consciousness, together with an engineer inherited from the régime of capitalism, plot to wreck the factory. Here again the conspiracy is discovered in the nick of time, the factory is saved, the process of industrialization goes forward, and the country moves towards the building of socialism.

The theater, like every other place where people are wont to congregate, is utilized to propagate the Five-Year Plan indirectly. Placards representing the plan are often hung on the walls of the foyer where they greet the eye of the theatergoer. In some cases skits on the Five-Year Plan have been introduced to amuse the audience during the intervals between the acts. Occasionally, however, the postponement of an entertainment in order that a duly authorized speaker may tell those present about so many percentages of this and so many percentages of that may arouse resentment or at least annoyance. Audiences have been known in such cases to express their displeasure in the typically American fashion of applauding the speaker

so generously and continuously as to compel him to close his remarks. Such behavior on the part of the public does not seem to be regarded as a counter-revolutionary act.

Clubs and Reading Rooms. As we have seen, the revolutionary movement has given rise to various agencies of a more or less informal and unsystematic character for the political enlightenment of the masses. In 1927-28 there were in the Union 21,876 cottage reading rooms, 22,892 libraries, and 6,117 clubs. All of these institutions have become active centers for the propagation of the Five-Year Plan. In the cottage reading rooms and libraries the brochures and periodical publications dealing with the plan are made accessible to the masses. Similarly in the clubs, as well as in the so-called homes for workers and peasants, which are organized in connection with trade unions, recreational centers, and all sorts of enterprises, reading materials pertaining to the plan are prominently displayed and provision is made for talks and lectures and discussions about every phase of the program of construction. Needless to say, the placards, charts, diagrams and maps explaining the nature of the plan and exhorting workers and peasants to greater effort are hung on the walls of these institutions.

Museums, Exhibits, and Excursions. Many of the museums which have sprung up so abundantly in the Soviet Union since the revolution are quite effective agents for the propagation of the Five-Year Plan. There are in-

dustrial museums, for example, in which the present position of the industries of the Union or of a region and the contemplated developments year by year during the period covered by the Plan are presented by means of charts, diagrams, maps, and material displays. In some instances real talent seems to have been devoted to this work. There are also agricultural museums here and there which are designed to do the same thing for agriculture and to arouse interest in the socialistic reconstruction of the village. There are the educational museums in which are set forth the cultural program and the various tasks imposed upon the educational institutions in the achievement of the general plan. Finally, there are the museums of the revolution which, in addition to recording the history of the revolutionary movement down through the centuries, report the achievements to date in the field of construction and outline the broad perspectives of future development.

The contents of the museum are made to render a very important service in connection with the numerous conferences and congresses which meet from time to time in the different population centers. At the headquarters of these meetings special halls and rooms are decorated elaborately with charts and placards and other materials which are expected to be of particular concern to those in attendance. Today the theme which runs through all of these displays is the Five-Year Plan, with particular reference to the special interests represented. The mate-

rials which compose these exhibits are created in part for the occasion but are also taken from the permanent resources of the museums.

The excursion has been widely developed in Soviet Russia as a definite part of the educational program. Extensive trips and tours are organized among school children with a view to bringing boys and girls together from all parts of the Union. At the central headquarters in Moscow, which serves the Russian republic alone, two hundred children are cared for daily throughout the year, and in the summer this number rises to seven or eight hundred. Under competent direction these children from villages and distant places are shown the museums, the factories, the centers of government, and the other institutions of the capital city. There exists, moreover, an excursion system with branches in other parts of the republic; and each of the constituent republics of the Union has its own arrangements for the organization of tours.

The way in which the excursion is used to propagate the Five-Year Plan is easily understood. By means of carefully organized tours children are enabled actually to see the great enterprises under construction all over the Union. The numbers of boys and girls who make up the excursion groups do not go as individuals. They are all selected to represent clubs, schools, or communities and on their return are required to give a full and accurate account of what they have seen. The Five-Year

Plan has tended naturally to become one of the major centers of interest in the organization and conduct of excursions.

The thought should not be conveyed that this form of educational undertaking is limited to children. Large provision is made for the extension of excursion privileges to workers and peasants throughout the Union. Since these classes, under the prevailing theory, are the real rulers of the country, they are expected to know something about its resources, its institutions, its achievements, and its tasks. Men and women are being sent increasingly from the villages and cities to distant places so that they may bear witness to the truth. In this fashion supporters of the Five-Year Plan and propagandists of the whole program of construction are being recruited daily and hourly from the masses.

Primary and Secondary Schools. These institutions of general or social education are concerned primarily with the task of rearing an entire new generation loyal to the ideals of the revolution and valiant warriors for socialism. Their attention consequently is focused on a relatively distant future. Besides giving to children the basic tools of knowledge they seek to instill in them collective habits and attitudes and thus prepare them for life in a socialistic order. This does not mean that the school is expected to ignore those problems of construction which are agitating contemporary society. On the contrary, ac-

cording to the prevailing theory of education in the Soviet Union, the school in building the future must work in the present and participate actively in the process of social creation. Its program has been greatly influenced by the Five-Year Plan. The struggle for the industrialization of the country, for the organization of farm communes, for the cultural enlightenment of the masses, and for the general reconstruction of life goes on in the school as in society at large.

For a child to pass through a Soviet school today without becoming familiar with the Five-Year Plan is impossible. At the primary level the programs of instruction have been worked over to include materials dealing with the Plan. New textbooks are being issued which describe, in a fashion appropriate to the interests and understanding of children, the major features of construction under way and in contemplation. The readers contain materials designed to acquaint children with the provisions of the plan, and the arithmetical exercises are filled with examples based upon the figures of the plan. The way in which the exploration of the local region, the work in geography, and the study of science are related to the social program can be easily imagined.

In the secondary school a somewhat more systematic and fundamental study of the Five-Year Plan and of planning in general is undertaken. The social science work in every year of the course is intimately related to the Plan. In the first year of this institution, which is the fifth year of schooling, the liquidation of the conflict between the city and the village through the double process of the industrialization of the country and the collectivization of agriculture is made a central theme of inquiry. The object is to stimulate children to see that the Five-Year Plan contemplates the breaking down of the isolation of the village and the bringing of the peasant into the economic and cultural life of the country.

In the second year attention is centered particularly on the industrialization of the Union. Teachers are expected to make comparisons between the conditions of the past and the conditions of the present and between conditions now and conditions at the end of the five years. Also those great historic tasks which the working class faces in its struggle to raise the productivity of labor and to raise labor discipline are brought into the program. This leads naturally to the study and organization of socialistic competition within the school.

In the third year the work is organized around the contemporary tasks of the Soviet government. In relation to the Five-Year Plan this involves a study of the nature of socialism, of the meaning of the slogan to overtake and surpass Western Europe and America, of the effort to end the conflict between city and village, of the struggle with bureaucracy, of the question of socialistic competition, of the drawing of the widest masses into the direction.

tion of the government and the public economy, of the significance of the cultural revolution, and, finally, of the fundamental aims towards which the new construction is pointing.

In the last three years of the secondary school, which form a kind of senior division, the course in social science embraces such questions as the rationalization of industry, the increase of the productivity of labor, the lowering of costs, the arousal of the wide masses of workers, the introduction of socialistic competition, the curbing of the *kulak*, the raising of the harvest, and the general planning of the social economy.

More important perhaps than these changes in the formal program is the new spirit which the Five-Year Plan has brought into the school. On the walls of the classrooms and the halls may be found the placards, diagrams, and maps of the Plan. The children have brought socialistic competition into the school and have organized their own shock brigades. But there is a yet more significant effect. The most characteristic and the most challenging feature of Soviet educational theory and practice is the emphasis on socially useful labor. The work of the classroom is supposed to revolve about activities which are useful to the surrounding community and which thus make the school a genuine part of life. The launching of the Five-Year Plan has added in striking fashion to both the content and the significance of this socially use-

ful work. By establishing intimate and reciprocal relations between school and factory and between school and village, children are made conscious participants in the vast program of construction. They enter into socialistic competition with productive enterprises, they guard machinery against damage and carelessness, they counsel their elders against the use of vodka, they carry on anti-religious propaganda, they teach peasants and workers to read, they engage in building the new social order. In the eyes of the Soviet children the socially useful labor of the school becomes not only service to the surrounding community, but also service to the Soviet Union, to the proletariat of the world, and ultimately to all mankind.

Vocational and Higher Schools. The major contribution which the vocational and higher schools make towards the achievement of the Five-Year Plan is the preparation of the necessary specialists. Yet the very fact that a particular institution reorganizes its program in the light of the demands of construction must serve very effectively to propagate the Plan. Consequently all institutions engaged in vocational training are at the same time agencies for the preparation of specialists and agencies for the spread of propaganda.

The training of narrow specialists, however, does not cover the whole of the work of these institutions. According to the Soviet theory of vocational training every worker, regardless of his specialty, should be a builder

of the new social order. All programs of vocational training in the Union include certain elements that are designed to make the specialists intelligent about the relation of their work to the great tasks of social construction. Following the launching of the Five-Year Plan all institutions for the training of specialists were instructed to introduce into their programs courses of lectures and readings on the Plan. The provisions of the Plan are thus made the basis of study and discussion at all levels of the system of schools designed for the coming generation.

Schools for Adults. At the basis of the system of schools for adults is the institution for the liquidation of illiteracy. And here the propagation of the Five-Year Plan begins. The materials of instruction employed are expected to teach, not only the desired skills, but to inform a student regarding the policies of the Soviet government and the programs of construction which have been developed. A volume used in teaching peasants to read includes short articles on such subjects as the following: We Build a New Life, The Past, The New Village, How to Raise the Harvest, Coöperation—the Way of the Village to Socialism, the Commune of Red October, Grain Factories, Why the Electrification of City and Village is Necessary, The Electrification of the Soviet Union According to the Five-Year Plan, We Build New Factories and Mills, The Construction of New Factories and Mills in 1928-29, What We Will Build During the Five Years, To the

Struggle for the Five-Year Plan, The Protection of Health in the Village, To the Struggle with Drunkenness, and The Plan of Great Works. This volume contains pictures of construction under way, maps showing the projects contemplated by the Plan, and even poetry and songs calculated to make easier the road to socialism. It is a compendium of information about construction in general and the Five-Year Plan in particular, a treatise on Soviet social and political theory, and an instrument for propagating the ideas of communism.

Above the schools for the liquidation of illiteracy are the so-called Soviet Party schools including a lower and a higher type. Although these institutions are designed primarily to train specialists in the field of agitation, much of their work is of a general educational character. It is unnecessary perhaps to say that the programs of these institutions, the very citadels of communism, are literally saturated from top to bottom with the Five-Year Plan. An arithmetic now in use is based almost altogether on the facts and figures of the Plan. In his introduction the author argues that the control figures of the Planning Commission, the data of the Five-Year Plan, the totals for the ten-year period of Soviet power, and facts pertaining to world economy must become the fundamental sources of materials used in the teaching of mathematics in the Soviet Party school. An examination of the text shows that this principle has been conscientiously fol-

lowed. The teaching of addition, subtraction, multiplication, and division is done through figures about the productivity of Soviet industry during these years; figures about the consumption of tea, sugar, wool, shoes, and galoshes; figures about the proportions of the seeded area under the management of individual economy, collective economy, and soviet economy; figures about the output of hard coal, pig iron, and other industrial products; and figures about the development of coöperation in cities and villages. Citations to literature on the Five-Year Plan are common.

In similar fashion the materials of economic geography are related to the Plan. On the basis of a study of the natural resources of the Union, the necessity of developing new lines of transport and communication, such as those outlined in the Plan, is made clear. The rational ordering of the new industrial construction is also related to this analysis of the distribution of natural resources. Other divisions of subject matter are made to serve the same purposes. The student is taken into the theory of social planning and made acquainted with the various economic, social, and cultural considerations which guided the State Planning Commission in the formulation of the Five-Year Plan.

The Red Army. Barring exceptions which are made for political reasons, the entire able-bodied male population of the Union is called to the colors at the age

of twenty-one. This service, however, may take two forms: the individual may enter either the Red Army or the militia. If he enters the former, his period of service is two years, whereas if he enters the latter, it will be but eight months.

As we have pointed out elsewhere in the volume these military organs are powerful cultural instruments and are designed, not only to give the young men training in military science, but to make them active and intelligent warriors for the principles of communism. Because of this conception of the rôle of the military forces numerous educational, cultural, and propagandist agencies have been organized in both the Army and the militia. The more important of these agencies are points for the liquidation of illiteracy, Soviet Party schools, clubs, circles, red corners, wall newspapers, libraries, cinema theaters, radio receiving stations, a special army press, and various courses of vocational training. Through these institutions illiteracy is completely abolished, various kinds of specialists are prepared, and the elements of the social and political theory of the revolutionary movement are widely propagated.

The Five-Year Plan has greatly affected the cultural work of both branches of the military forces. In the case of the Red Army two serious hours during the course of the day are devoted to social or general education and to the liquidation of illiteracy. Then in the evening the Red

soldier is expected to give two or three hours to various forms of nonscholastic cultural activity provided by the club, the cinema, the radio, and so on. Since 1928 the purposes and provisions of the Five-Year Plan have been made the center of this evening work. The club rooms of the Army are equipped with the customary charts, placards, maps, and diagrams analyzing and presenting the Plan; and the library and reading rooms are supplied with the related literature. As a consequence, at the present time a young man simply cannot pass through the Red Army without becoming familiar with the program of construction. The expectation is not only that he will become familiar with the entire plan but that he will go out from the Army an active champion of the new order. Within the shorter time limits at its disposal the militia serves the same ends.

CHAPTER XI

THE PREPARATION OF PERSONNEL

THE preparation of personnel is a matter of supreme importance in the fulfillment of the Five-Year Plan. Such a gigantic program of construction obviously could not be carried through to a successful issue in the absence of properly qualified persons to fill the new positions of social and technical leadership created in the process of building. A burden of immense proportions therefore is placed squarely upon the institutions of vocational and professional education of the Union. It is a burden that cannot be escaped. The Soviet state is making demands on these schools that surpass anything of the kind to be found in capitalistic society. At least during the first years of the period covered by the Plan the heads of the appropriate institutions literally were lying awake nights wrestling with the problem of preparing the skilled workers, technicians, engineers, and other specialists required by the Plan. They were made to feel very acutely that the success of the entire program was at stake and would depend upon their wisdom and energy. The govern-

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ment would accept no excuses: those who doubted the possibility of achieving the tasks outlined were ruthlessly replaced by others who had faith in the program.

The difficulties of the task were accentuated considerably by initial neglect of the task of preparing specialists. Although the need for an adequately trained personnel was always recognized, in the original formulation of the Plan this question received less attention than it deserved. As a consequence, by the summer of 1929 voices were being raised insistently to the effect that the whole program of construction was being jeopardized because of weaknesses on the cultural front. Then followed a concerted effort on the part of the planning organs and the educational authorities to repair the delinquency.

Another factor which may greatly complicate the problem of planning in this field is the fact that the need for specialists is a function of advances made in other departments of the program. If the rate of development elsewhere is incorrectly gauged, then the estimates with reference to personnel will be faulty. It is just this element in the situation today which is causing the Soviet authorities anxiety. During both the first and second years movements in certain departments of industry and agriculture exceeded anticipations and therefore increased the demand for personnel beyond the original calculations. Where defective forecasts pertain to specialists of low qualification, the result is not particularly serious because the

needed workers can be trained quickly by emergency measures. But where such mistakes are made for persons of middle and higher qualifications, the situation may well take on a calamitous aspect. Technicians, engineers, physicians, teachers and scientists cannot be trained in a day.

The task of preparing an adequate personnel for the Soviet economy is increased further by the very low level of culture and technical preparation of the population. The grave nature of this weakness is clearly revealed by a comparison of the Soviet Union and Germany with respect to the degree of training possessed by industrial workers. For the year 1928-29, the year of the launching of the Five-Year Plan, only 41.3 per cent of the workers in Soviet industry were skilled, whereas in Germany the corresponding figure was 62.6. In the case of engineers the condition was yet less satisfactory. For industry as a whole the percentage of engineers to the entire number of workers was .37 in the Soviet Union and 1.38 in Germany. Only when these facts are taken into consideration and are projected upon the background of illiteracy and generally retarded cultural development of the Russian people, is the observer in a position to understand and appraise the size of the task which the Soviet government faces in its effort to create a modern industrial system within the course of a few years.

The problem of preparing specialists, which has been [188]

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precipitated by the Five-Year Plan, presents a threefold aspect. There is the question, first, of training skilled workers for the various branches of industry and agriculture; second, of training a technical and professional personnel for industry, agriculture, education, medicine, and science; and, third, of the preparation of the organizers, agitators, propagandists, and leaders required for the promotion of the Plan everywhere, but more particularly in the villages. The Soviet authorities have developed measures for dealing with each of these three divisions of the problem.

Training of Skilled Workers. According to the earlier estimates of the Planning Commission, estimates which have since been revised upward, large state industry during the five-year period will require 1,535,800, transport 145,000, and construction 235,000 additional skilled workers. Also, small industry and handicrafts, which together embrace approximately four million artisans, will require great numbers of newly trained persons. These needs place a heavy burden upon the appropriate educational facilities of the country.

In meeting the demands of large industry all existing schools will be utilized and made more efficient. Thus the factory-mill school, an institution established in an industrial enterprise for the training of skilled workers, is expected to increase its enrollment during the five years from about 66 thousand to 113 thousand and to prepare

approximately 216 thousand workers. Likewise the industrial schools of secondary grade are being asked to increase their attendance from 31 thousand to 45 thousand and to produce some 45 thousand graduates. Finally, the Central Institute of Labor through its vocational courses is counted upon to contribute 112,500 skilled workers by 1932-33. Even if these institutions all perform fully the tasks assigned to them, they will be able to meet only about 24 per cent of the needs of large industry. Other important measures consequently are being introduced into the program of vocational training.

The Planning Commission has proposed the development of a wide system of supplementary education. The object of this system, which is in process of organization, is to re-train, to give additional training to, and to train persons employed in production. The introduction of the seven-hour day is expected to facilitate greatly the promotion of this program: it will insure to workers ample time to engage in further study. By the autumn of 1929 courses of the desired type had already been organized in many enterprises, but they embraced only about 30 thousand workers. Therefore they are being greatly expanded in order to supplement sufficiently the more conventional forms of training.

The proposal has also been made that the industrialtechnical schools of secondary grade be converted into institutions for the preparation of the lower technical per-

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sonnel, such as highly skilled artisans, labor foremen, and others. This would require the affiliation of such schools with the great economic trusts from which they would receive funds, equipment, and supplies. Industry likewise is being asked to devote more attention than heretofore to the training of its personnel.

The need for skilled workers in the field of construction is being met in a similar fashion. The existing schools originally designed for this purpose are able to equip only 17 thousand of the 235 thousand persons required. The remainder are being prepared by means of various short courses and programs of training provided by the Institute of Labor.

The position of transport is somewhat better. For the training of personnel in this field there already existed a fairly adequate program. The number of courses for the preparation and re-training of workers will grow from 354 in 1927-28 to 774 in 1932-33, and the number of evening schools for workers will be raised to 200. In the preparation of adolescents, the transport school of the factory-mill type is expected to produce 98 per cent of the qualified workers required during the last year of the Five-Year Plan. A program of supplementary training is also being developed on a small scale.

Since the system of supplementary education constitutes the chief means of preparing the needed workers of lower qualification for both industry and construction, and since

it represents the most significant change in the traditional scheme of industrial training occasioned by the launching of the Five-Year Plan, it should be examined in some detail. According to the thought of the Planning Commission, institutions to supplement the more formal and systematic methods of training must be organized throughout all branches of industry and public economy. These institutions are now being organized on three levels. At the first level, courses for the liquidation of general vocational illiteracy are being arranged; at the second, courses for the preparation of qualified workers; and at the third, courses for highly skilled artisans. The system is crowned by a series of evening technicums and institutes for workers. The organization of these last-named institutions has been provided for by the Supreme Economic Council in its plan for the development of higher technical education.

Although the Five-Year Plan places specific emphasis on the expansion of large industry, the importance of the rôle of small industry and handicrafts in the economy of the country is clearly recognized. In view of the exclusive emphasis placed by the American press on the program of industrialization in Soviet Russia, special note should be made of this fact. For the Union as a whole the share of small industry in the total production is almost 30 per cent; and certain industries, such as earthenware, carriagemaking, barrel-making, woodenware, basketry, mat mak-

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ing, rug-making, and others are in the handicraft stage entirely. According to the plan, small industry will show an increase during the five years of almost 30 per cent. There is no disposition whatsoever on the part of the Soviet authorities, as is often alleged, to destroy the old Russian art and to make a complete and indiscriminate break with the cultural past. On the contrary, they are now endeavoring to heal the wounds caused by the general economic dislocation of the early revolutionary period and to restore the handicrafts to the position they occupied in pre-war days.

In view of the fact that four million workers are now engaged in small industry and handicrafts, the contemplated 30 per cent increase during the five years makes necessary large provision for the preparation of craftsmen. For the training of adolescents and youths, two types of institutions are being established: the one is based on four years and the other on seven years of general education. These agencies, however, will be able to perform but an insignificant fraction of the task outlined under the Plan.

The great part of this burden will be borne by a system of supplementary education consisting of three types of agencies: points for elementary vocational education, productive shops, and higher courses and shops for hand industry. The first two types of institutions are being organized wherever small industry exists and will presum-

ably train 720,000 of the 785,000 persons to be prepared in this field. The higher courses and shops, which are designed to give an artistic-technical training, take the form of technicums and institutes, and are being founded in limited numbers.

The preparation of workers for agriculture is a task of peculiar importance and difficulty. This is due largely to the fact that the government contemplates the fundamental reorganization of the village and the development of radically new forms of rural economy. The Planning Commission has thus defined the problem: "The creation of a socialistic agriculture in the department of grain production which at the end of five years will equal the present strength of the kulaks is one of the fundamental objectives of the Plan. This does not mean that the more prosperous portion of the peasantry will be excluded from this field during the period, but rather that with the creation of a socialistic agriculture its relative position will be lowered and its monopoly of grain broken." If this goal is to be achieved, a new type of farmer must be prepared. Peasants must be trained for work in the colhozes and sovhozes which in 1932-33 will embrace presumably 5 million households and more than 50 million acres of land.6

Besides courses to prepare high-grade specialists for

^o As we shall have occasion to observe in a later chapter this part of the Plan was achieved in 1930. The program of training specialists for agriculture is therefore being radically revised upward.

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agriculture, such as agronomists, the plan provides for the organization of four kinds of special training. In the first place, the elements of agricultural knowledge will be given to five million peasants. This is a tremendous undertaking and is to be accomplished through a vast army of teachers who will be sent into the country. In the second place, large numbers of persons will be prepared to promote cultural activities in the village. To a considerable degree these workers will be graduates of the school for peasant youth, but will include in addition almost 700 thousand graduates of the general secondary school who will have become familiar with the rudiments of agricultural science. In the third place, many skilled workers will be trained for the new mechanized agriculture. Through institutions of the more formal type, similar to the shops for the training of craftsmen, and through various short courses of the mass type, 200 thousand tractorists and 50 thousand mechanics will be prepared during the five years. In the fourth place, approximately 20 thousand persons of middle and higher qualification will be equipped for work in the so-called social sector of the rural economy. Although existing and projected institutions of a systematic character will do much toward the training of these four great groups of workers, the major part of the burden will be performed by a system of supplementary education which embraces courses with an agricultural bias for the liquidation of illiteracy, elementary

courses in agriculture and agronomy, and more advanced courses to be conducted in schools for peasant youth and rural normal schools.

Training of Technical and Professional Personnel. As we have already seen, the beginning of the period covered by the Five-Year Plan found the Soviet Union quite inadequately supplied with technical and professional workers. The Russian republic with a population of more than 100 million persons had in 1927, according to the figures of the Supreme Economic Council, only 45,200 specialists in all branches of industry. Moreover, but 9,800 of these had enjoyed the privileges of a higher education and only 10,200 had finished the middle school. The education of the remainder may be left to the imagination. These figures show further that engineers and technicians were almost equal in number. In reviewing the situation the Party concluded that the proportion of technicians in large industry must be doubled during the five years and that the ratio of engineers to technicians should be not less than 2 to 3. The launching of the Five-Year Plan has placed before the country an enormous task of technical and professional training.

In order to meet the needs of industry and other branches of the public economy, according to the original estimates of the Planning Commission, provision would have to be made during the five-year period for the preparation of 50 thousand engineers and 80 thousand tech-

nicians. Because of the unanticipated rate of development attained during the first year, these figures were raised in the autumn of 1929 to 60 thousand and 120 thousand respectively. Existing institutions will be able to perform but 25 or 30 per cent of the task. Obviously various extraordinary measures will have to be introduced.

In the year 1929 the following seven measures were adopted to meet and prevent the recurrence of the emergency: first, the opening of new educational institutions, such as technicums and higher technical schools, by means of which the foundations may be laid during the current five years for the preparation of specialists to be needed in the more distant future; second, the creation of a network of higher technical institutions and technicums with short courses in those specialties which today show the greatest lack of trained personnel; third, the acceleration of the movement of students through the curricula of the higher technical institutions, the enlargement of the capacity of existing institutions, and the graduation of students without certain of the formalities customarily required; fourth, the transference of students now enrolled in faculties and departments of a less urgent character to those specialties suffering from a deficit of trained personnel; fifth, the organization of special courses for the re-training of practical workers who have not received the indispensable special preparation; sixth, the widening of the network of evening technicums for work-

ers; and seventh, the utilization of the secondary school with a vocational bias and the system of supplementary industrial education for the preparation of specialists.

In August, 1930, the Soviet of People's Commissars for the Russian Republic carried the spirit of these reforms a step further by instructing the Commissariat of Education to transform not less than forty per cent of the senior high schools into technicums beginning with the academic year, 1930-31.

Through these measures the Planning Commission prophesies a complete satisfaction of the need for both engineers and technicians. The great majority of the former will be prepared in industrial-technical schools and the appropriate departments of the higher institutions. The majority of the technicians will be trained in evening technicums, special courses for workers, and secondary schools with a vocational bias. Any deficiency will be covered by supplementary measures in the secondary schools and by placing in technical positions the more gifted practical workers.

Agriculture will require during the five years, according to the original estimates, 30 thousand specialists of higher qualification and 20 thousand of middle qualification. The latter figure, moreover, does not cover the needs of agricultural coöperation, of administration, and of leadership generally in important divisions of the social sector in the village. The plan for training persons for these

critical posts will be outlined in a later section of the present chapter.

Existing institutions of middle and higher grade apparently can prepare but two-thirds of the agricultural specialists required. The deficiency here will be met much as in industry. In addition to the regular work of educational institutions of the normal type, such as higher institutions and technicums, short courses of different kinds will be organized and the more competent persons of practical experience will be moved into positions which should be occupied by trained specialists. While this is recognized to be an inadequate solution of the problem, it is defended as a necessary concession to circumstance.

Of particular importance in the prosecution of the program of construction is the preparation of an adequate teaching staff for the educational institutions of the country. The situation, however, calls not only for the training of new workers, but also for the re-training of the entire staff of teachers now employed in the schools. Because of the strategic position which the school occupies in society, steps were taken as soon as the Five-Year Plan was launched to acquaint the teachers with the provisions of the Plan and to equip them for interpreting the Plan to the boys and girls under their care. This task was discharged very largely by the institutes for the re-training of teachers which may be found in the various republics of the Union. The operation of these agencies may well

be illustrated by referring to the program of the institute in Moscow.

The work of this institute for the re-training of teachers is organized along three lines. In the first place, the institute arranges conferences every spring and every autumn which embrace all of the teachers of the republic working in elementary and secondary schools. In the two conferences of 1929 attention was centered almost exclusively on the Five-Year Plan. In December, 1929, the institute organized for the first time a winter conference which was devoted altogether to the program of construction. In the second place, the institute conducts summer courses from two to three months in length in coöperation with various normal and higher schools. At the present time the plan receives much attention in all of these courses. In the third place, the institute conducts a large amount of correspondence study. Here too the emphasis now is on the Five-Year Plan and its relation to the schools.

A line of work which the institute organized in the winter of 1929-30 and which is of unusual importance in this connection was a whole series of short courses dealing exclusively with the Plan. To these courses, which were conducted in Moscow and other regional centers and which ranged in length from three weeks to two months, 15 thousand elementary teachers and 5 thousand secondary teachers, selected on the basis of ability and enthusiasm, were sent by the government. They were expected of

course to return to their own schools and lead in adapting the local curriculum to the needs of the Five-Year Plan.

In addition to the re-training of the existing staff of teachers there is the other problem of preparing the great numbers of new teachers required by the expansion of the educational system outlined under the Plan. There will be needed during the five years 56,200 additional teachers of higher and 163,700 of middle qualification. Existing institutions, apparently are equipped to train but 40 per cent of the former and 85 per cent of the latter. The shortages are being met by measures somewhat similar to those contemplated for the preparation of specialists in other divisions of the public economy. Short courses, evening courses, correspondence courses, and other forms of supplementary training are being organized.

There are, of course, many other spheres in which additional specialists will be required. Thus 17,500 new physicians will be needed, whereas the existing institutions are equipped to prepare but 12,100. In the case of the medical and pharmaceutical personnel of middle qualification the gap between the need and training facilities is yet greater. Forty thousand workers will be required in these fields, but the appropriate technicums can produce only 26 thousand. These deficiencies will have to be made up by drawing in unemployed persons and by organizing short courses for the preparation and the re-qualification of workers.

In the sphere of economics and finance, contrary to early expectations, the existing institutions are likewise utterly unable to meet the need. This problem became particularly acute in 1930 because of the increasingly important rôle assumed by planning in the public economy. The reorganization of the entire system of governmental and economic institutions on the principle of planning and the effort to improve the quality of their work created a demand for great numbers of economists. The advance of collectivization in the village and the transformation of millions of small backward peasant households into powerful enterprises founded on machinery and technology worked in the same direction. The number of economic workers of higher qualification must grow during the five years from 30,000 to 70,000. And corresponding figures for specialists of middle qualification are 40,000 and 110,000 respectively. These large increases presumably will be provided by the methods employed in other fields.

Finally, there is the question of the preparation of scientists and research workers of all kinds. This task is regarded by the Planning Commission as extremely important because it is fundamental to the more immediately practical problem of training the needed specialists in the several branches of industry. It is essential also to the promotion of that advancement of science on which technical progress depends. According to the needs, as

outlined by the Planning Commission, the number of highly trained workers in the various sciences should increase from 26,000 to 85,000. That such an enormous growth is possible seems highly doubtful. The preparation of scientists cannot be forced beyond certain limits. The problem of a deficiency here cannot be solved in a moment: it will require a long-time program.

This discussion of the plan for the preparation of specialists will be closed with a reference to the workers' faculties. These institutions, designed to prepare adult workers and peasants for the higher institutions, constitute one of the most characteristic features of the educational system of the Soviet Union. Through them, as we have seen, representatives of the proletariat and the peasantry are pouring into the universities and the professions. Thus is the revolution bending the university to its will and placing on the "commanding heights" of letters, science, and technology its loyal sons and daughters.

The Five-Year Plan contemplates a considerable, though not a large, expansion in these institutions. The number of day workers' faculties will increase from 51 to 60 and the students enrolled in them from 25,150 to 31,530. At the same time the number of evening workers' faculties will grow from 31 to 53 and their enrollments from 8,430 to 18,360. Also, special short courses will be organized for the purpose of preparing workers

and their children for entrance into the higher technical schools.

Another measure which is designed to increase the representation of the proletariat in the higher institutions is that of increasing the stipends for the maintenance of students. The number of stipend holders in technical schools and universities is expected to increase during the five years from approximately 55 to 65 per cent, in technicums from 34 to 60 per cent, in vocational schools from 10 to 30 per cent, and in training shops from 5 to 20 per cent. Moreover, the size as well as the number, of the stipends will be enlarged in each case. For technical schools and universities the average stipend will grow from 384 rubles a year to 600 rubles, for technicums from 172 rubles to 390 rubles, for vocational schools from 100 to 150 rubles, and for training shops from 60 to 100 rubles. Through all of these measures the social composition of the student population attending the institutions of professional education will be considerably changed. The expectation is that the percentage of workers in those institutions which serve industry will reach 65 per cent.

Training of Organizers and Agitators. The fulfillment of the Five-Year Plan will mean fundamental and revolutionary changes in the social order. This is particularly true in the village where various measures are being taken to shift agriculture from an individualistic to a collectivistic

basis. Obviously the proposed reconstruction of the village will not be possible unless the peasantry in large numbers participates actively in the movement for the establishment of farm communes, coöperatives, and other new social arrangements outlined in the Plan. The winning of such support can be secured only if effective means are taken to convert the peasants from their traditional ways of behaving and of viewing the universe. This means that thousands of leaders, organizers, agitators, and propagandists, who may be trusted to serve faithfully and intelligently the revolutionary cause, will have to be trained. To be sure, the need for persons of this kind is felt in the city as well as in the village, but the great battle-ground during these five years will be in the rural community.

Persons to lead and organize the revolutionary movement are being produced in large numbers by the various educational and cultural institutions founded since the revolution. The ordinary schools, for example, are dominated everywhere by the new philosophy and are consciously designed to produce active builders of socialism. They may be expected therefore to turn out large numbers of persons ready and eager to do whatever is necessary in promoting the plans of construction.

More important than the ordinary schools, however, are those institutions which constitute the structure of the revolutionary order. Through the Communist Party, the

soviets, the professional unions, the Communist organizations for children and youth, thousands and hundreds of thousands and even millions of boys and girls and men and women are being given opportunities to develop powers of leadership. The very arrangements which the revolution created to serve its immediate purposes generate powerful educational influences which draw the coming generation into its ranks with irresistible power.

Nevertheless, definite provision has been made to train those who are to engage in the work of propaganda and agitation. Most of the institutions which have been created with a view to reaching adults point more or less toward this goal. It is no accident that the department in the Commissariat of Education which has charge of adult education is called the Department of Political Enlightenment. Points and schools for the liquidation of illiteracy, workers' courses, workers' universities, schools for adults, courses for peasants, and various other cultural agencies for grown men and women all strive to propagate the revolutionary philosophy. The instrumentalities par excellence, however, for the preparation of leaders and agitators are the strictly Communist schools: the Soviet Party schools and the Communist universities.

These institutions vary so much from republic to republic that statistics for the Union as a whole are difficult to secure. However, since the Russian republic embraces the majority of the population and the great part

of the land area of the Union, data for this one republic will convey a fair idea of the program of these institutions and of the relation of that program to the Five-Year Plan.

The Soviet Party school, organized in primary and secondary divisions, provides the more elementary training for revolutionary leaders. In fact, a graduate of this institution may be regarded as a specialist of middle qualification. The Communist university carries the political instruction further and prepares the intellectual defenders of communism. During the five years, the number of Soviet Party schools is expected to increase from 72 to 128 and the number of Communist universities from 10 to 17. At the same time, attendance in the former institutions will grow from 13,380 to 29,250, and in the latter from 4,120 to 12,500. Provision will also be made for such an organization of correspondence work in this field that the number of persons reached in 1932-33 will approach 25,000.

The character of the work done by these agencies may be seen by an examination of the program of the Soviet Party school. As reorganized after the launching of the Five-Year Plan, this institution embraces four departments and offers four programs of training: the department of political enlightenment, the department of propaganda, the department of agricultural communes, and the department of coöperatives. The graduates from each

of these departments presumably will become leaders and organizers in the fields suggested.

Since the third department has been developed very recently for the purpose of training persons to promote the collectivization of agriculture, the program of studies which it offers is of especial interest. During a period of two years the students study the Russian language, mathematics, natural science, economic geography, political economy, the economic policies of the Union including the local Five-Year Plan, the history of the class struggle and of the Party, Leninism, Soviet construction, the laws of agricultural collectivization, the structure of farm communes and coöperatives, agronomy, animal husbandry and horticulture, the organization of collective economy, the keeping of accounts, the organization of life and the work of cultural enlightenment, Party work in farm communes, and military training. Zealous graduates of courses of this type are leading the struggle throughout the Union for the socialistic reconstruction of the village.

Work of the Red Army. The Red Army and the militia, as factors in propagating the Five-Year Plan, have already been considered. They are also playing a large rôle in the preparation of specialists of lower and middle qualification. In the ordinary discussion of the task of training workers for the program of construction there is very little reference to the Army. The achievements of this agency apparently are being held in reserve. Whatever

it may be able to do will therefore be in the nature of a surplus—something over and above what is expected.

Because of this attitude of secrecy towards the work of the Red Army, estimates regarding its contemplated contribution to the training of specialists could not be secured. But data on past achievements are available, and they perhaps will give some indication of what may be expected in the future. During the five-year period from 1925 to 1929 inclusive the army trained 221,499 specialists for work in the village. The response of the Army to the needs created by the Five-Year Plan is revealed by the fact that almost 160 thousand of these persons were prepared during the last two years under consideration—years which fell in part within the period covered by the Plan. By the autumn of 1930 the Red Army was organized on a territorial basis and was running hundreds of collective farms of its own on which the soldiers were receiving various forms of training for the new agriculture. Several months before the close of the year it had provided 17,500 specially trained farm managers and 50,000 section managers.

Other types of personnel prepared by this agency are directors of cottage reading rooms and libraries, organizers of military corners, tractorists, coöperators, policemen, land surveyors, village correspondents, cinema mechanics, Party workers, members of the lower soviet apparatus, trade union organizers, workers in the field of

political enlightenment, anti-religious leaders, radio mechanics, colhoz organizers, and others. These facts are for the Red Army alone. No doubt the militia, though embracing a shorter term of service, is also producing great numbers of specialists in the field of social reconstruction.

A Changing Program. The foreign observer who views the Five-Year Plan from a distance and through the medium of an American newspaper may gain the impression that a social plan is inelastic and not subject to modification. As a matter of fact the truth lies in almost the opposite direction. The working Five-Year Plan has already undergone great changes and it continues to change from day to day and week to week. As experience accumulates earlier estimates are found to be inaccurate or at least inadequate. At the end of the first year, as the totals came in, radical changes were made in many parts of the program. And the close of the second year brought a similar harvest. To make a study of the plan is extremely difficult and disconcerting, because the investigator will always be advised to wait until the new and more reliable estimates are ready. The chances are, however, that if he did follow this advice and wait, he would find himself in no better situation. Quite likely at the end of the month, or the quarter, or the year he would be faced with the same uncertainties.

Through the various organs of government the Plan

is subjected to a constant stream of criticism based upon ever-increasing knowledge. The way in which this fact affects the program of preparing specialists is obvious. Those in charge of any part of the program of training learn that they must constantly revise and adjust their formulations to new conditions. The point has already been made in an early paragraph of this chapter that the first general outline for the training of specialists proved to be totally inadequate, partly because the original estimates were based upon incomplete data and partly because the rate of development was more rapid than had been anticipated.

The most interesting feature of this situation pertains to those emergencies which are constantly arising. During the winter and spring of the second year of the plan the movement for the collectivization of agriculture partook of the nature of a mass movement in many parts of the Union. As a result, the most optimistic predictions were surpassed and the goal set for the five-year period was more than achieved. Since the collective farms are based presumably on a higher level of technology than the individual farms, the effect of this unforseen development on the program for the training of agricultural specialists can easily be imagined. In place of the 30,000 specialists of higher qualification first contemplated, the plan now calls for the training of more than 60,000; and for specialists of middle qualification the figures are raised from

20,000 to 325,000. These changes assume that the rapid march towards collectivization will continue and that by 1933 practically the whole of agriculture will be brought under some form of collective management.

One can scarcely pick up a Soviet newspaper today without seeing some report which alters the demand for specialists. A few cases taken at random from the Pravda during the early part of December, 1929 (any other month of the past year would serve just as well), will illustrate the point. In the issue for the 7th of December appears an article under the heading: New Tasks and the Plan for the Construction of Tractors and Farm Machinery. Apparently this branch of industry was developing much more rapidly than provided for under the plan. The fiveyear period consequently would witness the production of 1,110 million rubles of farm machinery in place of the 610 million planned for. This of course would mean a corresponding increase in the number of skilled workers, technicians, and engineers required. Two days later the paper published a long article entitled: Concerning the Growth of the Working Class and the Conditions of Unemployment. Here is discussed the whole question of the training of industrial workers in the light of the most recent changes in industry.

In the issue of December 10 is a short item: 360 Training Courses. On reading the article one finds that the trade unions have just formulated a plan for the move-

ment of 25 thousand workers into the village. Included among them will be 9,300 metal workers, 4,030 textile workers, 3,000 railroad workers, and 2,540 miners.

The object of this measure apparently was to bring about a more intimate relation between city and village and to provide the necessary technical workers for the farm communes which were then being organized on a large scale. According to the plan outlined these 25 thousand workers were to enroll on the 20th of December in twoweek courses designed to prepare them for work in the village. On December 13 appears a large, almost fullpage, article under the title: In Bolshevik Fashion to Prepare the Spring Seeding Campaign. The entire agricultural situation is reviewed and the necessity of sending new ranks of workers into the field is emphasized. Thus from day to day the changing situation is studied, dangers and weaknesses in the present program are pointed out, and desirable courses of action are suggested. All of this stimulates interest in the fortunes of the Five-Year Plan, but it must also give sleepless nights to persons holding responsible positions in the institutions engaged in the training of specialists.

CHAPTER XII

THE MAINTENANCE OF MORALE

ERHAPS the most crucial of all the tasks generated by the launching of the Five-Year Plan is that of maintaining morale, spirit and courage, during a period demanding the last measure of sacrifice. A people that has endured fourteen years of privation and suffering is asked to endure five years more. A country actually poor though potentially rich, a country whose capital was but recently consumed in the fires of war and civil strife, a country that is barred from the money markets of the world and regarded as an outcast among the nations, proposes to put sixty-five billion rubles into the public economy between 1928 and 1933. The thought staggers the mind: such an achievement would seem to lie outside the realm of possibility; human nature would seem to be too weak a vessel to bear so heavy a load; ideals, however virile, would seem to be too lean a food to sustain such prolonged and arduous labors. The undertaking will undoubtedly provide an inexorable test of the authenticity, the vitality, and the resourcefulness of the revolutionary movement.

The very idea of the plan undoubtedly is serving to maintain morale during the five-year period. In every great collective endeavor there is something majestic and inspiring which lifts the individual out of himself and lends significance to the humblest of tasks. The experience of nations at war is an excellent case in point. To be sure, in the armed clash of peoples there are the factors of conflict and of danger which are practically absent in peaceful undertakings and which contribute mightily to the promotion of group solidarity and unity of purpose. Yet, while the Five-Year Plan lacks a certain psychological quality characteristic of military enterprise, it nevertheless possesses features of its own which release energies and create loyalties. Any gigantic program of construction conceived in the interests of all must make a powerful appeal to the human mind. Even the visitor to Soviet Russia, provided he possesses a little imagination, feels himself drawn slowly but inevitably under the spell. At first he begins to wonder about the issue, and then to hope for success.

The Soviet authorities have not been willing to risk the chances of victory on the fortuitous recognition of the obvious merits of the plan. Although no special organ has been created to maintain morale and although much that has been done has grown quite spontaneously out of the social situation, various definite and powerful measures have been taken to nourish a resolute and steadfast temper among the masses. The more effective of the many means adopted to achieve this end are the glorification of socialism, the dramatization of construction, watchwords and slogans, reports of progress, public praise and censure, self-criticism, confession of error, purging the Party, socialistic competition, shock brigades, prizes and rewards, the use of force, celebrations of victory, and the appeal to Lenin. Each of these measures merits a far more detailed study than is possible in the present volume. Nevertheless, a survey of them, however brief, will show how the new society is seeking substitutes for the incentives which drive the wheels of the economic order under the system of private capitalism.

The Glorification of Socialism. The Five-Year Plan is identified with the building of socialism; and socialism is made to represent every good and perfect gift. To an American this phenomenon should be easily understood, because the people of the United States have always been ready to respond to the magic of a word. Throughout their history as a nation democracy has been to them a word with which to conjure and has symbolized the ideal "toward which the whole creation moves." Similarly in the Soviet Union today the term socialism is made synonymous with perfection; and the communist state is perpetually interpreted to the masses as the end towards which man at least, if not the whole creation, has been tending ever since his earliest progenitors assumed the human form.

According to the picture, as commonly painted, this future society will be a society without classes, without greed, without hatred, without war, without poverty; it will be a society of mutual coöperation, of human brotherhood, of general kindliness, of universal peace, of material plenty. Such a picture naturally enlists the loyalties of all who have faith in the contemporary leadership of the country and who are not too engrossed in their own personal affairs. Moreover, the people are told in every public address, in every issue of a newspaper, in the slogans on the walls of public houses, in the readers used in their schools, and even in the inscriptions on their tableware that the road to socialism is the way to the good life. The thought is in the very water that they drink and in the air that they breathe.

Anyone not familiar with the weaknesses of mankind might imagine that such an uninterrupted iteration and reiteration of the virtues of socialism would cloy the appetite, weary the mind, and generate contrary opinions. Indeed, such a view has frequently been expressed by the critics of the Soviet régime and would seem to be implied in the Hegelian dialectic adopted by the Communists themselves. In the course of generations this would probably happen, but to anticipate a speedy revulsion of feeling on the part of the great body of citizens of the Union is to misread human history. Of course members of the old bourgeoisie, certain intellectuals, and disgruntled ele-

ments generally, stand aside from the revolutionary movement and heap loads of ridicule privately on everything undertaken by the Soviet government. The building of socialism and the Five-Year Plan are made the subject of a never-ending flow of sharp witticisms among the representatives of these groups. But the seats of the scornful have always been well occupied and scoffers have ever been a numerous brood.

The reaction of the masses is quite a different question. Under proper conditions they seem capable of absorbing and thriving on unlimited quantities of unsupported assertions. Consider for but a moment the case of the American people. For one hundred and fifty years they have listened to Fourth of July orators extol the sublime merits of democracy; and today as they congregate in great cities, crowd into subways and factories, and submit to the most comprehensive program of standardization the world has ever seen, they pride themselves on their individualism and characterize their country as the land of the free and the home of the brave. An even more striking illustration is found in the behavior of the communicants of the Christian Church. For centuries they have repeated with great unction and unfaltering faith comparatively meaningless formulæ (when objectively considered) and have even sought to impose these formulæ by the sword and the missionary upon the other peoples of the earth. In order that the process of iteration may

be effective the only requirement apparently is that the ritual be intoned with proper gravity and emotion and that it represent power in either this world or the next. The meaning or significance of any experience, moreover, can rarely be discerned from the outside. A distinguished Russian visitor to the United States, for example, after observing the Yale-Army football game played in the rain at New Haven in the autumn of 1930, characterized the entire affair with the single word *stupidity*. And yet the cult of intercollegiate football seems to prosper. The foreign critic consequently should be rather cautious in appraising the efficacy of the Soviet methods.

The Five-Year Plan, as the initial large step in the building of socialism, naturally basks in the reflected glory of the great ideal. In order to prove this relationship, innumerable epigrams taken from the writings and speeches of revered revolutionary leaders, and particularly of Lenin, are constantly repeated. The fact is patent that the plan was consciously constructed according to socialistic standards and that every suggested change in the program is evaluated in terms of these same standards. As a consequence, the masses of workers and those peasants who have fallen under the spell of the revolutionary doctrines are undoubtedly convinced that in promoting the plan they are laying the foundations of socialism and are thus building a better life for themselves and their children.

The Dramatization of Construction. In maintaining the loyalty and the enthusiasm of the population during the prolonged period of construction when large sacrifices are required of all, the Soviet leaders have profited from the military experience of the race. They have realized that if the building of mills, factories, electric stations, railroads, schools, theaters, and farm communes could be made to assume the character of a gigantic struggle against great obstacles, they would be able to arouse the latent energies of the masses and organize those energies into a sustained drive for victory. This they have attempted on a vast scale and with marked success. While circumstances, in the shape of foreign diplomats, governments, and church officials have aided them on many an occasion, they deserve the major part of the credit themselves. On the whole they have played the game with a masterly hand. As a result, the psychology of the Soviet Union today is that of a nation at war. No other hypothesis will explain the facts.

Even an untrained observer of contemporary Russia, provided his senses are functioning properly, cannot escape the feeling that he is in the presence of a powerful struggle between contending forces. On the one side are the Party, the government, and generally those who see in socialism a better way of life. In opposition are the cultural backwardness of the country, the elements of nature, the internal enemies of the new régime, and the entire capitalistic world. Needless to say, in the eyes of

the champions of the revolution the struggle is a conflict of light against darkness, a battle between good and evil, a crusade for a world of justice and freedom and beauty for all. And the Five-Year Plan is the first great offensive to be carried into the territory of the enemy.

The Soviet spokesmen never tire of pointing to and dwelling upon the state of cultural backwardness which the new government inherited from the tsar. They almost go into rhapsodies over the sad condition of things as they were. Certainly the unenlightened rule of the autocracy has given them a powerful leverage in the struggle for the soul of the people. They refer constantly to the high level of illiteracy, to the prevalence of superstition, to the primitive condition of industry, to the isolation of the village, and to the generally low standard of technology which prevails in the Union. Reading these accounts, one is almost made to feel that the Russian people were the victims of a gigantic conspiracy embracing the old government, the Greek Church, the other nations of the world, and even the forces of nature. But the thought is now being dinned into the ears of the masses, so incessantly that the peasants in the deafest of villages must hear, that they are free to overcome the handicaps of the past, that the future is in their own keeping, that the words old and new represent opposite poles in the sphere of cultural affairs.

The struggle with the elements is dramatized in similar

fashion. The severe northern winters, the deep mud of the roads, and the isolation of great distances are made to appear in the guise of personal enemies. On the other hand, the successful completion of some important unit of construction is heralded as a victory of man over nature, and the building of great enterprises assumes the character of military engagements. Everywhere, according to the terminology employed, workers are at the front, they are in the trenches, they are going into battle. Even the professorships in the universities and the positions of research in the scientific institutes are spoken of as the scientific commanding heights.

The guarding of the new order against the attacks of counter-revolutionary and hostile factions within the Union is made to assume a yet more dramatic form. To what extent opposition of this character is a fiction created by the government for the purpose of keeping the minds of the masses off their troubles is a disputed question. That perils have on occasion been exaggerated for the allaying of discontent is entirely probable: the practice is not unknown to the statesmen of the world. However, many bona fide efforts at sabotage of the program of construction undoubtedly have been made; and large numbers of persons living in the Union today have no interest whatsoever in the building of socialism and would, if they dared, challenge the authority of the government. Certainly the surviving servants of the old order, the kulaks

in the villages, the priests and other functionaries of the Church, and the champions of private enterprise everywhere would like to see the present experiment fail. Many perhaps would give their very souls, so bitter is the feeling, to cripple some important project in the Five-Year Plan. Consequently there is going on in Soviet Russia today a genuine class struggle. Great issues are at stake, indeed the very greatest of issues, and human life itself weighs but lightly in the balance. Any account of current happenings in Soviet Russia that does not stress this fact is inadequate and thoroughly misleading. To report events without this social setting, as if they had occurred in the comparatively quiet atmosphere of the United States, is to convey a totally erroneous impression.

The Soviet Union feels itself to be surrounded by hostile states which fear and dread the success of socialism. During the early years of the revolution this enmity assumed the form of marching armies and battleships; and numerous efforts were made to effect the forcible overthrow of the revolutionary order. To what extent the old antagonism continues to operate through subterranean channels is a question which must be left for the present to the secret service and ultimately to the historian. That it has not disappeared altogether, however, is indicated by the fact that the most powerful of capitalistic states has now for more than thirteen years refused consistently to establish official relations with the new government.

And in the spring of 1930 the Communists seemed honestly to fear an attack through Poland. Also, the readiness with which the smallest incident, such as the selling short of a few million bushels of wheat in the Chicago grain pit, is made the occasion in the United States for the launching of a campaign of bitter propaganda against the Soviet Union would seem to indicate the existence somewhere of a deep-rooted and implacable hostility.

At the same time, by setting themselves up as the exclusive champions of the working classes and oppressed peoples throughout the world and by constantly dwelling upon the idea of the inevitable and irreconcilable conflict between communism and capitalism, the Soviet leaders contribute what they can to keep the dogs of war in a state of temper. On the other hand, the fact that they have advanced proposals for complete disarmament among the nations gives them an enormous advantage in the argument. They are able thus to present incontrovertible evidence of their peaceful intentions and to place the capitalistic world very neatly in the position of troublemaker and provoker of war. The net result of all this is that they are furnished with the most powerful of motives for carrying on the mighty drive towards the achievement of the Five-Year Plan: the completion of the program of construction contemplated will make the military position of the Soviet Union impregnable.

Watchwords and Slogans. The Communist movement

has coined numerous watchwords and slogans. Since the first stirring days of 1917 the patrons of revolutionary meetings and literature have been quick to seize upon a significant or striking phrase and carry it away in memory. Later this phrase appears on banners and placards: the former to be borne in parades and pageants and the latter to be tacked up on the walls of club-houses, schools, and factories. To a peculiar degree the epigrams and aphorisms of Lenin have thus passed into general circulation. On a revolutionary holiday a Soviet city is literally draped in red banners, and every red banner carries a slogan—a major weapon in the struggle for socialism.

The Five-Year Plan was launched with a slogan that is admirably adapted to enlist the attention and arouse the imagination of the masses. As we have already observed, a resolution passed at the Fifteenth Conference of the Communist Party contained the following statement regarding the purpose of the Plan: We must strive in the shortest possible historical period to overtake and surpass the most advanced capitalistic countries and thus insure the victory of socialism in its historic competition with the system of capitalism. This has been reduced to such abbreviated expressions as To overtake and surpass the capitalistic countries, To overtake and surpass America, and simply To overtake and surpass.

In its shortest form the slogan has been taken as the general title of an important series of small brochures

designed to popularize the plan. It has, moreover, so penetrated the masses that it is repeated even by peasant children in remote and backward villages.

Many other watchwords representing the Five-Year Plan have also been coined. At least 16 of the 45 slogans prepared by the Communist Party for the 12th Anniversary of the October Revolution dealt directly or indirectly with this subject. Among them were the following: The Five-Year Plan is the banner of the struggle for socialism; The second year of the Five-Year Plan must become a year of a yet more rapid rate of industrialization of the country and collectivization of agriculture; Let us strengthen the sweep of socialistic competition; Hail the powerful working enthusiasm of the masses; Shame to the deserters of socialistic construction, the loafers and disorganizers of labor discipline! Hail hard discipline in labor! Many other slogans which appeared on banners at the time of the anniversary also dealt with the plan: Hail the Five-Year Plan of great works in the construction of socialism; Let us realize the Five-Year Plan through socialistic competition; Through the coöperation of the masses we will fulfill the Five-Year Plan. These appeals and challenges are taken up by the workers, printed in newspapers, and inscribed on the walls of institutions. As conditions change and new interests appear the old slogans pass on and give place to others. But while they live, they apparently serve to generate

enthusiasm and to center effort on the critical points in the program.

Reports of Progress. The glorification of socialism, the dramatization of construction, and the use of watchwords and slogans, however, are not the central means of maintaining morale and achieving results. These measures by themselves, even though constantly repeated, would be totally inadequate to sustain the attention and effort of the population over a period of five years. They serve well in the launching of enterprises; but in carrying them through to completion they must be supplemented by other and more substantial methods. Excellently representative of such measures is the constant reporting of progress.

Not a single day passes on which there is not reported some more or less important achievement in the fulfillment of the Five-Year Plan. The daily press is crowded with items telling how the battle is going in every part of the Union. The *Pravda* ran for some months a special section entitled: "On the Front of Socialistic Construction." Here were reported from day to day the advances on all sectors of the line. Under the title, "Throughout the Soviet Union," the *Izvestia* has conducted a similar service. The papers which are more local in character serve their own areas in much the same way. No one can read the Soviet daily press today without becoming informed about the fortunes of the Plan and, if he has a little imagination, without receiving an occasional thrill

over accomplishments. News about construction is so dwarfing all other matters that the newspaper is actually changing its character. Reports of strikes, revolts, and troubles generally in foreign lands, for example, have been almost forced from the front page of the *Pravda*.

The daily papers do not stand alone in reporting progress. They are ably supported by the periodicals and by addresses at public gatherings. Also the moving picture, as we have seen, is being utilized to bring the great achievements of construction before the eyes of the people; and the excursion takes a more limited number to the actual scene of operations. Then the radio reaches millions through yet another avenue. Placards too are being issued constantly which report attainments in the different divisions of the Plan. Thus, wherever the citizen turns he is reminded of the fact that the Five-Year Plan has been launched and that large and genuine achievements are already a part of history. Indeed, he gains the impression that there is little else in either heaven or earth that really matters.

The first comprehensive report of progress naturally appeared in October, 1929. At that time the results of the first year of construction were summarized and estimates for the immediate future were made. Every agency for spreading the good news was used to the limit—the daily press, the cinema, the radio, the platform, and others. A little later small brochures began to appear which treated

the same subject in a more systematic fashion. Similar accounts were given at the close of the second year in October, 1930. But perhaps the most authoritative document issued during the first two years of the plan was the report of Stalin, representing the Central Committee of the Party, before the Sixteenth Congress of the Party meeting in Moscow at the end of June, 1930. The speech consumed six hours and presented an exhaustive analysis of the economic situation in both its foreign and domestic aspects. The great body of the report, however, was devoted to the progress of the Five-Year Plan.

The total effect on the population of these reports of progress must be profound. During the months of June and July, 1929, before the totals for the first year were in, skepticism regarding the possibility of fulfilling the plan was rife. Then in October, as the masses came to realize that they had actually surpassed many important provisions of the plan and as they began to contemplate the possibility of achieving the plan in less than the allotted time, their psychology seemed to undergo a radical change. In the autumn of 1929 there was a hopefulness in the air that had not existed a few months before. Although the hardships of the following year undoubtedly dampened the ardor of many, the consciousness of large accomplishments, which could not be denied, served to harden the resolution of the masses and to prepare them for the severe labors of 1930-31. If construction should go forward ac-

cording to schedule up to the very end and if the plan should actually be realized in five years or a shorter period, the energies which the knowledge of such an achievement would release could scarcely be measured. In that event, plans which would make this first effort resemble a kindergarten project could be outlined with the confident expectation that they would be achieved.

Public Praise and Censure. Closely related to the reports of progress is the practice of public praise and censure. While much attention is given to the standing of an entire industry or of the country as a whole, the achievements of particular regions, communities, and enterprises are not overlooked. An effort is made to render a continuous and detailed account of what is happening on every front and in every department of construction. And the light of publicity is allowed to play constantly and pitilessly upon both successes and failures.

A few examples taken from the newspapers in the autumn of 1929, when attention began to be centered on the fortunes of the plan, will serve to indicate the character of this publicity. In the issue of Izvestia of the 13th of October is an item entitled, The Examination is Passed. The paper reports that twelve of the largest collective farms in the Northern Caucasus have more than fulfilled the plan of the winter seeding campaign. Then follows a statement of the actual achievement of each of these communes. In the same number under the caption, Not

a Step Backward, there is printed a telegraphic communication from Leningrad to the effect that the factory Electrosila has surpassed its program in the lowering of the cost of production. In the issue of the 12th of November there is a dispatch from Dnieperstroy headed, With a Socialistic Tempo, in which the statement is made that the workers of Dnieperstroy "inspired by socialistic competition have surpassed the American tempo in the making of concrete." In the Pravda of November 14, under the title, Who Fulfilled the Plan, there is given a list of twenty-four factories in the Tartar Republic, the Bashkir Republic, the Northern Volga region, the Lower Volga region, the Urals, Siberia, and the Northern Caucasus. The actual achievement of each of the factories is reported in percentages. In one instance the plan was fulfilled to the extent of 100.6 per cent and in another to the extent of 231 per cent. The other factories fell between these extremes.

In the Izvestia of October 11 appears an interesting article entitled, The Red Squadron of Lugan Has Arrived in Moscow. Apparently several groups of workers in Lugan, a community in the heart of the Don Basin, had exceeded their contracts: the metal workers had produced an extra locomotive, the car builders had constructed 40 extra cars, and the miners had extracted 733 extra tons of the best anthracite. With banners and music the locomotive drawing the 40 cars which in turn carried the 733

tons of coal arrived in Moscow. The article reports the ceremonies which signalized the achievement and then extends words of congratulation to the Lugan workers: "Your gifts and your achievements provide the best proof that the working class, by giving all of its strength and energy to the construction of socialism, will overcome every difficulty and fulfill the Five-Year Plan in less than the stipulated time." A similar occurrence is related in the same paper twelve days later. The item is entitled, The Krasnoyarsk Squadron Goes to Moscow, and reports as follows: "At five o'clock the Red Squadron to the strains of the Internationale and the sounding of the sirens of the factories left the station." The Soviet newspapers are simply filled with accounts of the achievements of individual enterprises.

The reports in the daily press, however, are not merely reports of successes. Where industrial enterprises or agricultural regions fail to fulfill their plans the facts are also made public. In the Izvestia for October 4, 1929, appears an item under the caption, Where Then Is the American Tempo? It seems that there had been delays in making preparations for the construction of the Ford automobile factory in Nizhni Novgorod. The article points out that winter is not far away and that as yet not a single worker has reached the site where the factory is to be built. In the 14th of November issue of Pravda is a column headed with the caption, They Lag. Here is reported the fact

that Kazakstan has achieved its annual seeding plan only to the extent of 68.7 per cent. Moreover, the article points out that a certain district has completely fulfilled the program and that last place belongs to another district which has accomplished only 27 per cent of the plan. In the number of *Pravda* for October 22 there is an item entitled, *Where They Lag Badly*. The paper states that various areas in the Ural region have achieved their programs only to the extent of from 40 to 55 per cent. From these beginnings in 1929 the daily press has developed into a powerful instrument for the mobilization of public opinion in the fulfillment of the Five-Year Plan.

Throughout the second year and the beginning of the third year of the Plan the daily press continued to apportion praise and censure without thought of mercy. New methods of reward and punishment were invented. The device of the red and black boards has become an accepted instrument of Soviet journalism. Enterprises, regions, and industries fulfilling the plan are placed on red boards and those failing to do so on black boards. This ordinarily means that the names of enterprises, regions, and industries are printed conspicuously in the paper under the appropriate captions. To be put on the black board for the second year is made to appear as a terrible disgrace. Such a performance may be rewarded by a caustic cartoon in which a factory is held up to severe public ridicule.

In case the delinquency is peculiarly critical the work-

ers in the enterprise may be asked to render an accounting of their talents. An extremely interesting instance of this type appeared in the Pravda for January 28, 1930. The Putilov tractor works in Leningrad had produced during the month only 350 of the 600 tractors demanded by the Plan. Since the movement for the collectivization of agriculture had gone forward much more rapidly than expected and since collectivization meant mechanization and tractors, this failure was peculiarly serious. The Pravda, therefore, after presenting the facts of the case, printed in boldface type in the most conspicuous position on the front page the following item: Pravda awaits from the Party committee of the factory an explanation of the fact that the program of tractor construction has not been fulfilled. Three days later the reply from the committee appeared in the same type and at the same place in the paper. After giving reasons for the failure to achieve the plan the committee promised to correct the deficiency: The lag in the program of tractor construction will be completely liquidated by the fourth of February. All tasks with regard to the tractor program will be fulfilled, but in no case at the expense of the February program. The possibilities of increasing production by such methods require no comment.

The extent to which the Soviet press is absorbed in the Five-Year Plan can be seen from an examination of the titles of the articles appearing on the first page of the

Pravda for October 25, 1930. This issue is taken because it was the latest available at the time of writing. Everything on this page, except a cartoon which represents the iniquities of capitalism as revealed in a mine disaster in Germany, bears a very intimate relation to the program of construction. There are three editorials which develop the following subjects: Strengthen the Proletarian Leadership in Collectivization; The Opening of the Conference on Personnel; Shock Tempos in the Harvesting of Potatoes. The upper middle section of the page carries the caption, The Column of Transport in the All-Union Contest Grows. Under this general head appear seven news items all dealing with the question of the improvement of transport: A Brilliant Victory; Two Hundred Per Cent of the Program; To Lower the Idleness of Locomotives; A Better Answer to Those Bearing Panaceas; The Quality of Repairs Is Entirely Satisfactory; The Twenty-four Hour Load Has Been Increased to 1,762 Cars: and The Record is Broken.

This page also prints eleven other articles, all of which pertain to the autumn sowing campaign: The Northern Caucasus Fulfilled Only a Fourth Part of the October Plan; The Grain Sowings for the Fourth Five-Day Period of October Throughout the Soviet Union; The Account Goes by Days; Strike Harder the Kulak Who Attempts to Hamper the Seeding Campaign; Inexcusable Tempos in the Plowing in the Ural Region; The Fol-

lowing Are Included in the Contest; Strike the Kulak by Fulfilling the Seeding Plan; Those Retarding the Winter Plowing Are Called to Account; The State Farm, Pakta-Ural, Is Included in the Contest of the Best; The Red List of the Leaders in the Sowing; and To Triple the Tempos of the Winter Sowing. With the exception of five-eighths of the third page, devoted entirely to foreign news, practically all the remainder of the six pages composing the paper have to do in one way or another with the Five-Year Plan. Even the advertisements occupying something more than three-fourths of the last page are by no means entirely unrelated. The contrast with the American newspaper is striking. Imagine the New York Times devoting an editorial to shock tempos in the harvesting of potatoes, or the Chicago Tribune reporting in percentages the progress of the wheat-sowing campaign in the several regions of the United States! From what quarter would the American readers come?

Self-Criticism. Closely related to public praise and censure, and often indistinguishable from it, is the practice of self-criticism. This mode of maintaining morale has almost developed into a cult. Both the Party and the government recommend it, public speakers advocate it, great numbers of persons engage in it, and the newspapers carry long editorials upon it. At the time of the twelfth anniversary of the revolution the Party included among its slogans: Through bolshevist self-criticism we will en-

force the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country. In a Moscow bank may be seen the motto: Socialistic competition is a powerful means for the development of self-criticism from below. The result has been a regular orgy of self-criticism. During the late winter and early spring of 1930 the papers were so full of lamentations that the uninitiated might have supposed that the Five-Year Plan was about to be abandoned and that the Soviet government was tottering on its foundations.

The theory supporting the practice of self-criticism is fairly obvious. In a socialistic society there is always the danger that the absence of competition will result in the development of an extreme form of bureaucracy. Lenin continually inveighed against the sloth and indolence of the office-holder and was most unsparing in his criticisms of both himself and his comrades. To be sure, there is a limit beyond which the critic may not go: he must give unhesitating and complete assent to the fundamental tenets of the Communist faith. Anyone who would step outside these bounds must run the risk of being accused of treason to the working class and of giving comfort to the enemy. In other words, the new social order must be accepted and upheld. The means but not the ends of the revolutionary movement may be called into question.

A striking application of the principle of self-criticism is found in an article by an American engineer, Mr. John Becker, which appeared in the issue of October 8, 1930,

of Za Industrializatziu (For Industrialization), the official organ of the Supreme Economic Council. The article is entitled, How a Factory Should Not Be Run, and describes the gross mismanagement of the new tractor plant at Stalingrad. The completion of this plant ahead of schedule in the spring of 1930 represented one of the most spectacular achievements of the second year of the Plan and was made the occasion of general rejoicing throughout the Soviet Union. Five months later, according to Mr. Becker, the factory was still awaiting the arrival of necessary machinery, much valuable equipment had been practically ruined, two hundred highly paid American mechanics and technicians were resting in complete idleness, and the few tractors which the Russian workers had been able to produce by the most primitive methods failed to pass the test and shook to pieces after seventy hours of operation. This constituted an extremely severe indictment by an outsider, but it was welcomed because its object was to remedy an intolerable situation. In introducing the article the editors of the paper thanked the author, suggested that he contribute again, and hoped that other foreign engineers would follow his example and thus coöperate with the Soviet authorities.

That self-criticism may be attended by serious evils is generally recognized. Under its protective cloak individuals may give vent to personal animosities and jealousies and even serve counter-revolutionary purposes. More-

over, loyal Communists sometimes find it hard to accept with good grace critical comments from comrades. If carried to excess, well-meant criticisms may be used by enemies to discredit the entire experiment. At its plenum in November, 1929, the Party cautioned its members against those exaggerated forms of self-criticism which can serve no useful purpose and which are certain to be exploited both at home and abroad to the disadvantage of the Soviet government and the dictatorship of the proletariat. Yet in the absence of this practice, which aims primarily at the disclosure of incompetence and neglect of duty in high places, the great program of construction outlined in the Five-Year Plan certainly could not be achieved.

Confession of Error. In a factory in Kharkov there is inscribed on the walls the following slogan: Every Good Bolshevik is Willing to Confess His Error. This ideal, which apparently is becoming a part of the revolutionary tradition, tends to remove the sharp edge of criticism. If the individual can be made to feel that acknowledgment of mistakes is a worthy act, he is automatically put into a frame of mind which is hospitable to the reception of critical suggestions. The history of religious institutions shows the ease and even readiness with which men adjust themselves to the practice. Indeed, there is a certain mental type that actually delights in the confession of sin and the castigation of self. And there seems to be some-

thing of a masochistic strain in all of us. If the great Russian novelists have written accurately of their countrymen, the Slavic nation would seem to be supplied abundantly with this strain.

The past two years have been replete with instances of confession of error by members of the Party. The formulation of the Five-Year Plan was attended by violent disagreements among the leaders of the revolutionary movement. Although Stalin, representing a central position, was victorious in the contest, he faced powerful opposition on either side. Leading the faction of the left were such world figures as Trotsky, Zinoviev, and Kamenev, while directing the forces of the right were men of almost equal renown like Rykov, Bucharin, and Tomsky. Of these dissenters Trotsky alone has stood by his guns; the others have all acknowledged their mistakes. The statement is commonly made in Moscow, even by followers of their old leader, that if Trotsky is ever to be reinstated in the Party he must come back in sackcloth and ashes.

The actual confessions of these hardened revolutionaries are so striking in nature, so characteristic of the Communist movement, and so unlike anything seen in American politics that they merit quotation in full. In the *Pravda* of November 25, 1929, appears the following letter signed by Kamenev and addressed to the Central Committee of the Party:

"Respected comrades: In view of the fact that in the wide circles of the Party it is known that in the recent struggle against the Party and its Executive Committee my name was closely linked with the name of Comrade Zinoviev and since his declaration, which appeared in vesterday's number of the Pravda, may convey an erroneous interpretation of my position, I regard it necessary to state that the declaration of Comrade Zinoviev was written by us together and that I am entirely in accord with what is said in this declaration about our mistakes, about the Lenin line of the Party and the Central Committee, about the obligation of every member of the Party without questioning to support the Central Committee, not permitting the undermining of the authority of the leadership."

Such is the confession from the left. The *Pravda* of the following day carries a similar statement signed by Tomsky, Bucharin, and Rykov.

"During the course of the last year and a half there have been disagreements on a series of questions pertaining to policy and tactics between ourselves and the majority of the Central Committee of the Party. We expressed our views in a number of documents and utterances at the plenums and other sessions of the Central Com-

mittee. We now consider it our duty to say that in this dispute the Party and its Central Committee have been proved correct. Our views presented in well-known documents, have been proved erroneous. Acknowledging these errors of ours we, on our side, will put forth all of our strength in order that together with the entire Party a decisive struggle may be conducted against all deviations from the general line of the Party and first of all against the right deviation, in order that all difficulties will be overcome and that the full and speedy victory of socialistic construction will be assured."

Comment on such a social exhibit is superfluous. While later events proved that the men of the right, at least, continued to doubt and while their ultimate relation to the Party is still uncertain, these confessions obviously reveal the operation of powerful psychological forces which have no counter-part in the politics of the West. In order that the phenomenon may be properly gauged, the reader should imagine, if it is not beyond his powers, what circumstances would induce American political leaders to make similar admissions in public. The portrait which even a statesman in the United States draws of himself shows a man proceeding with unerring judgment from the cradle directly to the crowning achievements of his life. Nothing could indicate more clearly the wide moral gap which divides the Communist Party from any political

body functioning in American society. The very fact that it rules gives it a measure of prestige and at the same time a degree of responsibility which it cannot disavow.

The Purging of the Party. Periodically steps are taken to purge the Party of those elements which are out of sympathy with its program. An effort is also made to eliminate from its ranks career hunters and persons who have fallen victims of routine or become fatigued by the heavy demands of the organization. These latter elements were thus characterized by Stalin in his famous address on the defects of the Party at the evening session of the Fifteenth Congress of the Party on December 3, 1927:

The third defect (of the Party) consists in the desire of a number of our comrades to swim along with the current softly and quietly without perspectives, without looking into the future, anticipating that universally there should be felt a festive and pompous mood, that every day should have solemn sessions, that everywhere should be applause, and that each one of us in turn should be elected an honorary member of all kinds of presidiums. This irresistible desire to see everywhere a holiday spirit, this tendency towards decorations, towards jubilees, necessary and unnecessary, this desire to swim while we can without turning back—all of this constitutes the third defect of our Party practice.

Did you ever see oarsmen who row honestly

in the sweat of their brows, but who do not see where the current takes them? I once observed such oarsmen on the Yenisei river. They were honest and tireless oarsmen, but they did not see and did not wish to see that a wave might drive them against a rock where death threatened them. Some of our comrades behave in the same manner. They row honestly, without taking a rest, they float smoothly onward abandoning themselves to the stream, but whither they are carried they neither know nor wish to know. Work without perspectives, work without a rudder—this leads to the desire to float at the mercy of the current. And what are the results? The results are clear: first these comrades become covered with moss, then they grow gray, then they sink into the marsh of everyday life, and then they become ordinary citizens. This is indeed the way of genuine regeneration!

During the entire year of 1929 and the spring of 1930 there occurred the most thorough and systematic purging of the Party since 1921. No one escaped: every member was brought before the bar of both Party and public opinion. The process was as follows: First, an examining committee for a particular district was formed of three of the oldest and most active members of the Party from a nearby region. Then one member after another within the district was called before the committee and required

to give an account of his life from birth and to show why his name should be retained on the roll. These meetings were public and anybody, whether he was a member of the Party or just an ordinary citizen, was permitted to attend and even participate in the questioning of the member under examination. In some cases when the victim was widely known, the number of persons in attendance reached into the thousands. There was a current joke at the time to the effect that people seeking entertainment would weigh carefully the relative attractions of one of these sessions and the theater, and then decide in favor of the former. Obviously the lot of a Party member is not a bed of roses.

The total effect of this purging process is difficult to appraise. It consumes an enormous amount of time, often creates hard feelings, and no doubt serves to coerce opinion. Nevertheless, it would seem to serve the purpose for which it is intended. When members of the Party know that they will have to render an account of their stewardship, not only to their comrades, but to the public at large, they must feel the necessity of watching their step very closely. In particular, they must be impelled to participate in various forms of socially useful work which are supposed to distinguish the behavior of a good Communist. And the fulfillment of the Five-Year Plan must rest in no small measure upon those voluntary contributions of labor and energy which fall outside the working day. The

purging process would seem also to guard the Party against the evils of bureaucracy and the other debilitating tendencies which inevitably come with age and success.

Socialistic Competition. The development of socialistic competition may prove to be one of the most significant products of the Five-Year Plan and the entire program of construction. A common criticism launched against all forms of socialism is that, in the absence of competition among private capitalists bent on personal gain, incentives to great achievement will disappear. Socialistic competition represents the Soviet answer to this argument. It is also being counted upon by the Communists as a central means of increasing the efficiency of labor, of reducing the cost of production, and of improving the quality of goods. Whether these hopes will be realized or not is a question which cannot be answered at present. The practice must survive the test of time. It may pass away as quickly as it came, or it may lose its effectiveness when its novelty is gone. Nevertheless, socialistic competition today is a factor to be reckoned with in every branch of the economy from the Baltic Sea to the Pacific Ocean. It has even penetrated the cultural institutions and affected the lives of children in the schools.

Socialistic competition differs from the competition which takes place in capitalistic societies in its motivating purposes. Its object is social welfare rather than personal profit. Those who engage in the competition ordinarily

expect no material advancement that is not shared with others. The reward of the individual, aside from the joys which come from participation in a collective undertaking and the thrills which are generated by a contest, is the feeling of social approval which accompanies success. In the degree that the competition releases new energies among workers, nobody loses: the whole of society wins.

In its organized form, socialistic competition assumes the character of a written and properly signed contract between two enterprises to fulfill certain specifically enumerated conditions. The parties to the agreement may be two factories, two schools, two libraries, two railroad branches, two farm communes, two coal mines, two lumber mills, two electric stations, two theaters, a factory and a school, a factory and a library, or any other combination of the various enterprises forming the social fabric of the Soviet Union. A contract which was drawn up between two electrical factories in Leningrad and Kharkov respectively on the 17th of July, 1929, is thoroughly typical and begins as follows:

From year to year the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the bulwark of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the herald of the world proletarian revolution, grows and strengthens. The foundation stones of this development are the building of a socialistic industry and the creation of a new basis of energy for the entire

public economy—the electrification of the country. Only the industrialization of the Union, only the transfer of the entire economy to an electrical basis will insure the defense and economic independence of our government, the collectivization of the peasant economy, and the victory of socialism. The difficulties of the present days, domestic as well as international, convince us that industrialization and electrification are the only roads to the new order. The task of overtaking and surpassing the technical achievements of capitalistic countries stands before us in full stature. But the fulfillment of the tasks of Soviet industry is to be achieved not by means of capitalistic rivalries but rather by means of socialistic competition among the rightful masters of industry—the proletariat of the Soviet Union. Recognizing the great historical responsibility which rests upon the workers of the electrical industry, who create the mechanical skeleton for the electrification of the country, we in the name of 4,200 workers and employees of Electrosila (Leningrad) and 6,300 workers and employees of the Kharkov Electrical Factory (Kharkov) conclude the present friendly contract of socialistic competition between our factories and confirm in the presence of the proletariat of the entire Soviet Union and in the presence of our foreign brothers the following obligations which we must fulfill by the end of the economic year 1928-29.

Then follows a list of nineteen obligations such as the following: To lower the cost of production by 9.3 per cent, to exceed the productive program for the year by 5 per cent, to increase the hourly output per worker by 20 per cent, to lower absences due to unimportant causes by 5 per cent, to reduce losses from defective workmanship by 25 per cent, to rationalize processes according to certain specifications, to introduce a rigid economy in the use of materials, to organize new types and methods of production, and to prepare for the transition to the seven-hour working day. The contract is concluded as follows:

Taking upon ourselves these obligations we regard the active creative participation of all workers, engineers, and employees of the factories in conferences on production as an indispensable condition to their fulfillment. We also view the quality of the work of these conferences as one of the items of the contract. For the purpose of insuring the most successful progress of the competition we place upon the social organizations and the managements of the two factories the obligation of providing for the systematic exchange of experience in production and in the work of the conferences. Our contract embraces 10,500 proletarians of the electrical industry and imposes upon every worker and employee responsibility for the fate of our production. Let our contract be to each of us a

school of genuinely socialistic labor and of self-conscious proletarian discipline, to the working class of the Union an instrument in the struggle against *kulaks*, *nepmen*, and the international bourgeoisie, and to the proletariat of other countries a challenge for the overthrow of the bourgeois dictatorship and capitalistic exploitation.

This agreement, which is formally signed by representatives of both factories, conveys an idea of the general character and purpose of the contracts in socialistic competition which literally are being drawn up by the thousand in Soviet Russia today. The document usually includes a revolutionary preamble, a statement of the items of the contract, a challenge to domestic and foreign capitalism, and a militant shout of triumph. If important enterprises are involved, the contracts and the outcomes of the competition are reported in the press. A great wave of competitive endeavor, whose major object is the realization of the Five-Year Plan, seems to have swept over the country and to have aroused, at least on some occasions, an enthusiasm not unlike that attending the conduct of sports in the colleges of the United States.

Shock Brigades. One of the most spectacular and colorful products of the effort to build the new order is the so-called shock brigade which seems to have appeared for the first time in 1929. This instrument of the revolu-

tionary movement is a group of active and sociallyconscious workers who voluntarily assume special responsibilities for the promotion of the program of construction. The activities in which they may engage are most varied. They may agree merely to serve as model workers in the factory in which they are employed: begin work on time, avoid all unnecessary absences, strive to prevent wastage of materials, endeavor to raise the efficiency of labor, and help to educate newcomers from the village in the ways of the factory. Brigades also may conduct propaganda in other enterprises or go to rural communities for the purpose of organizing farm communes and coöperative enterprises. They may even travel great distances to meet some emergency which has arisen in the building of socialism—to the forests of the north to put the timber industry on its feet, to the grain regions of the south to aid in the seeding campaign, or to far-away Siberia to straighten out some kink in the transportation system. Apparently they hold themselves in readiness to do whatever may be required anywhere along the farflung front of construction.

A point of unusual interest in this connection is the fact that the movement for the organization of shock brigades arose first among the Young Communists. Likewise, although the idea of socialistic competition is commonly traced to the writings of Lenin, members of this society were apparently responsible for introducing the

idea into life. These young men and women, as we have seen elsewhere, are the most virile and militant champions of the revolutionary cause: they constitute the spearhead of the advancing battalions of communism. They take delight in hardship and regard the Five-Year Plan as a great adventure. Being for the most part the sons and daughters of workers and peasants, and having known nothing of luxury even in its simplest forms, they take life as it comes and find their rewards in building the future.

During the summer and autumn of 1929 the shock brigades spread so rapidly that an all-Union conference of representatives of the movement was held in Moscow in the early part of December. At this meeting, which was attended by seven hundred delegates from all parts of the Union, the more urgent tasks of construction facing the country were discussed and particular attention was given to ways and means of raising the efficiency of labor and lowering the costs of production. Thus in the process of achieving the Five-Year Plan there has sprung up quite spontaneously a new institution which may assume a relatively stable and enduring form. At the present time, despite much well-meant blundering and a great deal of dissipation of energy, it would seem to be an altogether indispensable tool for meeting the numerous crises and emergencies which are constantly arising all along the line. Certainly for a number of years to come disciplined and

trained shock brigades may well serve a useful purpose.

Following the all-Union conference, the practice of forming brigades affected ever-widening circles of the population. The students of universities and higher schools, and even the clerical workers, a section of the population that had always been somewhat apathetic towards the revolution, were gradually drawn into the movement. The motives no doubt were diverse. Some joined the

brigades because they were genuinely concerned about the success of the Five-Year Plan, others because they desired to go with the crowd, and yet others because they craved the small element of adventure which it would bring into their lives. Toward the end of 1929 far-reaching plans were matured for the wholesale organization of brigades to promote the seeding campaign in the villages. And in January, February and March of 1930 the entire country rang with the slogan: Every member of the Party, Young Communist, and trade union organizations into the brigades!

That this slogan was ever fully realized is not to be expected. Many persons no doubt were able to find excellent excuses for refusing to join the brigades, as in a country at war ingenious souls succeed in evading military service. But the force of public opinion is extremely powerful and sooner or later most people bow before it. Even the workers and technicians from capitalistic countries did not wholly escape. During the summer of 1930

reports began to come in from various construction projects to the effect that the American specialists were forming shock brigades. Thus on the first of October eight Americans employed in the mechanical assembly shop of the tractor works at Stalingrad composed a brigade and challenged the Russian specialists and Americans working in other shops to socialistic competition. A second brigade was immediately formed in the tool shop and issued the following declaration of purpose: "We consider it absolutely necessary to help this tractor plant more swiftly to begin mass production by making full use of the methods of American plants and by teaching them to our Russian comrades."

One of the most important products of the shock brigade movement may well prove to be a changed attitude towards labor. Inaugurated primarily for the purpose of achieving the tasks of production set by the Five-Year Plan, its most lasting fruit may be cultural in nature. Stalin, sensing this on one occasion, predicted that the shock brigades "will change labor from a heavy and shameful burden to a matter of honor and glory, to a task of valour and heroism." This of course has been the hope of idealists of all ages, but the hope has always been deferred. The advantage which the Communists hold in their attempt to give genuine dignity to labor is the fact that their society seems to be resting increasingly on labor. The shock brigades are bringing this fact out clearly.

Prizes and Rewards. It is only natural that out of the practice of socialistic competition and the formation of shock brigades there should emerge some system of prizes and rewards. This is precisely what has happened. The Supreme Economic Council, seeing the economic values which might accrue to industry, began by giving material rewards to enterprises surpassing their programs and prizes to factories winning in important competitions.

The Amo Auto Works of Moscow, which was expected during the second year of the plan to increase the productivity of labor by 50 per cent and to reduce costs of production by twelve per cent, actually fulfilled its program on the fourteenth of September, sixteen days ahead of schedule. For this achievement the plant was given 750,000 rubles with which to build dwellings for workers. The Lepse Works of Moscow finished its annual plan on the eleventh of September, nineteen days before the close of the year, lowered production costs by 23 per cent in place of the 19.5 per cent called for, and received a prize of 500,000 rubles for the housing of workers. The Karl Marx factory in Leningrad concluded its assignment by September sixth, raised the productivity of labor by 23.7 per cent in eleven instead of twelve months, reduced costs 18 per cent in place of the assigned 15 per cent, and was given 750,000 rubles for classrooms, an auditorium, and a dining hall. Thus achievement is recognized by means of tangible rewards.

Because of the general slowing down of the tempo which characterized the last months of the second year, the Soviet leaders decided to make a special effort to speed up the program at the beginning of the third year. Acting on the suggestion of a worker they designated October first as the Day of Shock Brigades and the quarter opening on that day as the Shock Quarter. It was on this day that the prizes indicated above were awarded. It was also on this day that a Union-wide factory contest embracing the months of October, November, and December was launched. The contest is to be judged on the basis of achievement in production, rationalization, labor protection, supply of workers, and cultural activities. It is organized into a series of competitions within the various branches of industry, such as heavy industry, light industry, and construction. Certain newspapers are being assigned to watch and report the progress of the contest. Prizes ranging from 50,000 to 2,000,000 rubles will be provided from a fund of 20,000,000 rubles supplied by the State Planning Commission and will be devoted to the improvement of the living conditions and cultural opportunities of the workers. Presumably similar contests will be arranged for the state and collective farms.

The first quarter of the third year also has witnessed developments in the organization and functioning of shock brigades in industry which the Soviet press hails with great enthusiasm. The original brigades of a factory seem

to have followed guild or trade lines very closely, each brigade being composed of workers following the same specialty. There are now being organized in rapidly increasing numbers so-called through brigades which embrace workers from all of the trades represented in the plant and which are designed to coördinate the entire process of production from beginning to end. They are also playing a large rôle in the formulation of the promfinplan (industrial financial plan). Then there is appearing another brand of brigade known as the social tug which includes persons drawn from every department of the enterprise—social, technical, and productive. Its function is to spur on and render aid to those individuals or divisions which are lagging behind the program. Thus the revolutionary movement sweeps on through the masses ever presenting new facets and creating new instruments for the struggle.

The Use of Force. The new social order was born in days of bloodshed, revolution, and terror. The Communists, speaking in the name of peasants and workmen, seized the power because they were strong and they have held it because they have continued strong. They established a dictatorship of the proletariat and proclaimed the fact unashamedly to all the peoples of the earth; and so long as they remain united they will no doubt maintain that dictatorship against all comers. If opposition should again appear in organized form, they would beat it down

as ruthlessly and probably much more efficiently than they crushed the counter-revolutionary armies during the years from 1917 to 1921. As builders of socialism they regard themselves as the trustees of the future and the responsible guardians of the workers of all countries. They are prepared to employ any means necessary to enable them to keep their hold on the reins of government. They pride themselves on their readiness to face reality, on their repudiation of sentiment as a guiding influence in the formulation of policy. Not to use force in order to protect the fruits of the revolution would, in their eyes, be a confession of weakness and cowardice. On the other hand, to employ force when it could not be expected to achieve the ends desired would be equally reprehensible: it would be a confession of rashness and incompetence.

As the revolutionary movement has gathered momentum it has antagonized inevitably new elements in the population. The Five-Year Plan was definitely expected to arouse opposition in certain powerful quarters—and these expectations have been fully realized. The entire program for the socialistic reconstruction of agriculture, involving, as it does, a direct attack on the rights of property, has aroused the most deep-seated prejudices and precipitated a bitter struggle in the villages. Through the organization of agricultural communes, the establishment of state farms, and the preferential treatment of the poor and middle peasantry, the *kulaks* and other privi-

leged classes in the village see their world going into dissolution about them. In some districts the situation is not unlike that which would prevail in the southern United States if an effort were made by the federal government to enforce the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments to the constitution. The chief difference would reside in the fact that the embittered group in Soviet Russia constitutes a very small minority.

The result in many areas is either concealed or open hostility. Where they dare, the kulaks interfere with the measures of the government and drive its representatives out of the community. Numerous cases of shooting have been reported and flogging has been a common occurrence. One of the most extreme and spectacular instances of this opposition to the coming of the new order appeared in the Votsk autonomic oblast in June, 1928. In this district the poor peasants, following the counsel of revolutionary leaders, had organized brotherhoods for the purpose of buying machinery and engaging in other forms of collective enterprise. Such a display of independence so enraged the kulaks that they arranged a public flogging of 300 peasants. The whole undertaking was carried through with dispatch and consumed three days. Perhaps its most surprising feature was the fact that only one poor peasant had sufficient courage to barricade himself in his hut and with gun in hand refuse to answer the summons.

All opposition on the part of the elements under attack in building the new order is sternly and ruthlessly suppressed by the governmental authorities. The kulaks in the Votsk oblast were brought to trial and those found guilty were dispossessed of their property. The whole world is familiar with the famous Shakhta trial of the same year which ended in the execution of six engineers found guilty of sabotage. In the last days of September, 1930, forty-eight persons charged with forming a conspiracy to ruin the country's food supply were shot without trial on the basis of confessions. On the 27th of October, 1930, there appeared in the Soviet press a report of the arrest of eight highly-placed technicians accused of participating in an international plot of the most amazing character which, according to the allegations, involved not only Russian monarchists in Western Europe but also leading statesmen of France, England, Poland, Roumania and other countries and which aimed at the overthrow of the Soviet régime by military means. Although no death sentences were carried out, as simple spectacle and pure tragedy the resulting trial surpassed the trial of the engineers two years before.

These are only some of the more sensational instances of the use of force. There are many others. In dealing with the enemies of the revolutionary order the government has not hesitated to arrest, imprison, exile, and shoot. At critical points in the history of the Soviets such measures

no doubt have frightened the opposition into submission; at other times perhaps they have needlessly spread terror among harmless folk and made the technical and managerial personnel of industry reluctant to assume necessary responsibilities.

Celebrations of Victory. As we have seen in another connection, the completion of any important project of construction is made the occasion for a celebration of victory. Parades are organized, speeches by renowned leaders are given, revolutionary songs are sung, past achievements are recounted, perspectives of future accomplishment are outlined, challenges to the capitalistic world are issued, and a general jubilation is held. Also at this time those who participated in the construction, both specialists and workers, are singled out for public recognition. The net result of the entire affair is that the building of each new enterprise is seen in its social relations, persons participating in it are fittingly rewarded, and everybody is imbued with a deep desire to march on to further victories.

The largest single achievement to date in the sphere of construction is the completion of the thousand-mile rail-way connecting Siberia with Turkestan. This project was finished a year and a half ahead of the original schedule and at a saving over the first estimates of 45,000,000 rubles. Opening up, as it does, vast new areas for settlement and development, the building of the road undoubt-

edly represents a most extraordinary triumph for the revolutionary forces. Little wonder that the event was celebrated in true Soviet fashion!

On the 25th of April, 1930, William Shatoff, chief of construction, sent the following telegram to Stalin: Today, at Six Minutes Past Seven by Moscow Time, the Rails from the South Joined the Rails from the North, 648 Kilometers from Lugovaya Station. The Way Is Open for Through Travel over the Turksib. And Stalin wired back: Warm Greetings to All the Workers for Their Masterly Job of Building the Turksib. Congratulations poured in from high officials and workers' organizations in every corner of the Soviet Union; and newspapers carried exultant editorials and epic poems telling the story and indicating the significance of the accomplishment. At Aris, where the last foot of steel rails was laid, an appropriate festival was held. "The Kazaks and hundreds of other tribesmen, in flowing colored robes and gay and astonishing headgear, made holiday. They came with their families, traveling by camel, horse and oxen over miles of mountain and desert land, some of them camping by the rails for days to await the great event. A special train carried correspondents, foreign visitors, and Soviet officials and workers' delegations from Moscow and other parts of the Union. The road was officially opened with music, speeches, and the waving of banners, and the Order of the Red Banner of Labor was bestowed on all the workers

as a whole who helped to build the road, and on William Shatoff, construction manager, and the chief members of his staff, individually."

The most impressive celebrations, however, occur in Moscow on November 7 to commemorate the anniversary of the revolution. On these occasions the city is draped in red banners carrying appropriate slogans and mottoes. And while the population, organized on the basis of occupation and place of employment and led by the military and police forces of the Union, pour into the Red Square before the Kremlin in a seemingly never-ending stream, squadrons of airplanes fly back and forth overhead in fighting formation. Once seen the spectacle can never be forgotten.

Viewed against the background of the limitless resources of the Union, the gigantic program of construction under way, and the onward drive of the revolutionary forces, it conveys an impression of indomitable courage, inflexible purpose, and irresistible power. The comparatively shabby apparel and lean bodies of the men and women marching in the line lend strength to the picture. They add a moral quality which fine raiment and superfluous flesh would destroy; they furnish an elemental touch which gives to the entire proceedings the genuineness of the phenomena of nature. Finally this great human current reaches its destination and halts before the tomb of Lenin. Here, in the presence of the great leaders of the revolution, living

and dead, the ordinary soldiers in the ranks listen to the recital of their achievements, renew their vows of loyalty to the cause of socialism, and then go forth to battle with sloth and ignorance and inefficiency for another year. Although the uninitiated may smile at the pretensions of this proletarian display, the thousands who march and the millions who watch from near and far receive sufficient inspiration to sustain them through many dark days of privation.

The Appeal to Lenin. This account of the various methods employed to maintain morale may be closed very appropriately with a reference to the customary appeal to Lenin. Certainly few men in the history of human institutions have gained that ascendency over vast populations which has fallen to this once relatively obscure writer of pamphlets during the short period of the Soviet power. Although the Communist Party has done what it could to foster this exaltation of the leader of the revolution, the affection in which the name of Lenin is held today throughout the Union is genuine. Even occasional members of the old privileged classes, while unhappy under the present régime, are ready to grant that he was a great man. His popularity among the masses of workers and peasants is shown by the fact that any person seeking public favor always endeavors to bring Lenin to the support of his projects. A full-sized portrait of Lenin, showing him in a characteristic pose, which was issued by the Association

of Revolutionary Artists in 1928, sold fifteen million copies during the first year.

The Soviet leaders in the launching and the prosecution of the Five-Year Plan have sought the endorsement of Lenin. In fact, they have endeavored to show that the Plan was implied in his program of electrification. The small brochures designed to propagate the Plan among the masses are full of quotations from Lenin. The Lenin corners which are to be found in every factory and school have become the centers of propaganda for the entire program of construction. And the struggle within the Party against the left and the right deviations in the preparation of the Plan has sought to justify itself on the grounds that it represents the line clearly marked out by Lenin himself. Thus both the general idea of a planned economy and the particular form which planning has taken in the Soviet Union are stamped with the authority of the man who led the October Revolution and founded the first workers' republic in human history. Within the limits of the communist philosophy there is no higher sanction.



PART FOUR TODAY AND TOMORROW



CHAPTER XIII

THE CHANCES OF SUCCESS

TN VIEW of the complexities and dynamics of the entire situation in the Union and beyond the border, any consideration of the chances of Soviet success in the competition with capitalism must proceed in all humility. The present effort therefore will make no pretense to finality; neither will it be concerned with those more far-reaching developments which will come with the generations. The future must be left to the future. The appraisal here will be confined chiefly to the more narrow and immediate problem—the problem of the chances of success in achieving the major provisions of the Five-Year Plan. Even such a relatively small task is fraught with great difficulty and any conclusions must be strongly qualified. Whether the Communists succeed or fail in this effort, new forces are certain to be liberated which will alter the psychology of the masses and change the face of the entire experiment. An examination, necessarily brief and superficial, of the achievements, the hopes, the uncertainties, the liabilities, and the assets of the new order

in its attempt to carry through its program of construction will serve at least to reveal the complexities and some of the possibilities in the situation.

Achievements. The achievements in connection with the Five-Year Plan must be projected on the background of the history of the Soviet economy since the revolution and of the position occupied by the economy of the former régime. If the total production of industry for the year 1913 be given a value of 100 and if this number be taken as a base for purposes of comparison, the effect of the revolution on industrial production can be made clear. Following 1913 this index rises to approximately 109 in 1916. Thereafter, paralleling the collapse of the old order, it drops to 76 in 1917, to 43 in 1918, to 23 in 1919, and to 20 in 1920, the lowest point reached by Soviet industry. Then the period of recovery sets in and the index rises rapidly to 25 in 1920-21, to 104 in 1926-27 and to 120 in 1927-28. Agriculture pursued a similar course, but with fluctuations of narrower amplitude. The low point, however, was not reached until the famine of 1921-22. In that year the index was 54; by 1925-26 the level of 1913 was passed; and in 1927-28, owing largely to the kindliness of nature, the total value of agricultural production was about six per cent above the pre-war level.

Thus in both industry and agriculture the revolution was accompanied by an extraordinary decline in production. The former was almost completely paralyzed for

several years and the latter passed through a period of dire distress. But during the five years immediately preceding the launching of the great plan the two branches of the public economy recovered and surpassed the achievements of pre-revolutionary days. To be sure, certain divisions of industry, such as iron and steel, and certain departments of agriculture, such as flax raising and animal breeding, continued to lag. In general, however, the year 1928-29 found the Soviet economy somewhat beyond the benchmarks left by the tsar.

To summarize in a few words the achievements of the first and second years of the Five-Year Plan is impossible. An attempt will be made therefore to record merely the major successes and failures and indicate their significance.

The successes of the first year were striking. The Plan had called for an increase over the preceding twelve months in the total production of large state industry of 21.4 per cent; the actual achievement was 23.4 per cent; and the control figure for the following year was raised to 31.5 per cent. The significance of this achievement can be properly appraised only when one recalls that an eight or ten per cent increase in industrial production for an entire country is usually regarded by economists as a great accomplishment. Also the Plan was equaled or surpassed in the important fields of capital construction, transportation of freight, number of employed workers,

average monthly wage, length of working day, and total income of the state. In the program for the socialization of agriculture the plan was likewise considerably exceeded. The number of acres brought under some form of collectivization by the end of 1928-29 was 11.8 million in place of the 9.3 million called for by the plan.

On the other side of the ledger, however, are recorded certain important failures. Increased production in the textile, leather, rubber, and shoe industries, for example, was attended, not by an improvement, but by a depreciation in the quality of the product. The lowering of the costs of production did not proceed according to schedule, although advances over the previous year were general all along the line. No doubt this was due in part to the fact that the productivity of labor did not increase as rapidly as contemplated. The plan had called for an advance of 17 per cent, whereas the actual achievement was only 15 per cent. But the most serious gaps between program and accomplishment were in the field of agriculture. The total production here was expected to increase 4.4 per cent, but a growth of only 1.8 per cent was registered. The amount of cultivated land missed the mark set by three per cent. On the other hand, the quantity of agricultural produce to reach the markets of the country somewhat surpassed the expectation.

While the task of balancing the successes of the first year against the failures is one of real difficulty, certain

general observations may be drawn. The period was undoubtedly one of very large achievements. The standards adopted were genuine everywhere. The Plan called for a most extraordinary organization of effort and resources. The fact that, when its provisions were first made public, it was heralded everywhere beyond the borders of the Union as a wild utopian dream is perhaps sufficient testimony to the magnitude of the tasks outlined. Moreover, because of the skepticism which generally prevailed even within the country regarding the possibility of success, the first year was a very critical year. The claims put forward by the Soviet leaders therefore that the Plan was more than fulfilled during this initial period would appear to be well-founded.

The second year was filled with drama and excitement. The revolutionary forces seemed, on the one side, to score the most extraordinary triumphs and, on the other, to experience the most severe reverses. It was a year of lights and shadows, of brilliant achievements and heart-breaking blunders, of pæans of victory and lamentations of defeat. The reader of the Soviet press must have begun to doubt his own sanity, for he would be told in the same issue that the Plan would be achieved in four years and that the program was lagging everywhere. So much concrete evidence of failure was reported from day to day that the hostile critic would have had no difficulty in proving the imminent collapse of the entire experiment. That

dispatches appearing in the American press alternately gave the impression that the Soviet government was about to fall and that Soviet industry would shortly capture the markets of the world may be easily understood. As a matter of fact, these dispatches reflected the strategy of the Communist leaders as much as the ebb and flow of the struggle to fulfill the Plan.

Besides numerous other achievements, the twelve months from October, 1929, to October, 1930, witnessed the movement for the collectivization of agriculture sweeping like a tidal wave through the villages of the Soviet Union; the practical liquidation of the kulak as a class and the general strengthening of the revolutionary forces among the peasants; the completion more than a year ahead of the original schedule of the Turkestan-Siberian railroad linking together two great regions and opening up vast new areas for settlement; the breaking of ground for the Ford automobile factory near Nizhni Novgorod, and the beginning of work on numerous industrial enterprises in different parts of the country; the resumption of the exportation of grain on a large scale, and the marked increase in the amount of coal, oil, and other produce sent into the foreign market; the practical abolition of unemployment among persons possessing any special knowledge or skill; and the laying of plans for the introduction of universal primary education approximately two and one-half years ahead of the Plan as first formed.

This, however, is by no means the whole of the story. These same twelve months recorded the wholesale slaughtering of domestic animals by peasants who felt themselves being driven into communal arrangements; the gross mismanagement of the great tractor factory just completed in Stalingrad and of other important units of the new industrial order; the growing inadequacy of the system of transportation to meet the heavy demands made upon it by the rapid development of the country; the restless movement of workers from factory to factory and from industry back to the village; the marked tendency towards the inflation of the ruble and the hoarding of metal coins; the increasing scarcity in proportion to the need of all kinds of food and manufactured goods; the extension of the rationing system and the lengthening of the queues in the cities; the growing alarm in Europe and America over the effect of Soviet exports on the markets of the world; and finally, and most serious of all, a marked slowing down of construction and production all along the line during July, August, and September.

In spite of these reverses the second year of the Plan was acclaimed in the Soviet press as a year of large achievement. The issue of *Pravda* for the first of October, 1930, ran in deep headlines across the top of the front page the following caption: The Working Class Completed the Second Year of the Five-Year Plan with Great Victories. Then followed in bold-face type a triumphant characteriza-

tion of the year and a spirited call to the struggle ahead:

New factories and mills are erected, new branches of industry developed. The growth of production breaks all records in the history of the world. The working masses through their enthusiasm and revolutionary heroism have proved that the question of the building of socialism is a matter of life and death for the overwhelming majority of those who toil. In true Bolshevist fashion the collectivization of Soviet agriculture is being realized and with it the liquidation of the kulaks as a class. The Party, united around its Lenin Central Committee, eradicates the last vestiges of counterrevolutionary Trotskyism and carries on a victorious warfare against right opportunism and reconciliation. We have entered into the period of socialism. A new chapter has opened in the history of revolution.

Today we enter the first quarter—the pathway into the third year of the Five-Year Plan. This shock quarter must liquidate all of the indebtedness of the second year and initiate the more rapid tempos of the third year. It will insure a new and powerful rise of the socialistic economy.

RAISE HIGHER THE BANNER OF SHOCK WORK!

RAISE HIGHER THE BANNER OF SOCIALISTIC REVOLUTION!

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WE WILL FULFILL THE FIVE-YEAR PLAN IN FOUR YEARS!

A dispassionate analysis of the work of the second year reveals very uneven advances along the front of construction. In certain sectors, where the attack was exceptionally well organized or where the resistance was weaker than anticipated, the tasks of the plan were achieved with excess; in other sectors, where conditions of a reverse order prevailed, the program lagged badly.

In the department of agriculture the successes were so marked as to become almost embarrassing. During the winter of 1929-30, under the slogan of *The Liquidation* of the Kulak as a Class, the campaign for collectivization gained the momentum and generally took on the features of a mob movement. It went far beyond the facts of peasant psychology and rolled up such huge totals from week to week that some enthusiasts envisaged the complete collectivization of agriculture during the year.

Certain by-products of this drive to reconstruct the village were the sharpening of the class struggle among the peasants, the intensification of the campaign against religion, and the general shifting of the revolutionary front from the city to the country. When, following Stalin's letter to the press on the second of March, which sought to restore sanity among the organizers and promoters of this work, the smoke of battle had cleared away and the

process of de-collectivization had run its course, it was found that the program of the Five-Year Plan had already been surpassed and that 85,000,000 acres of land had been brought into the collective farms. Whereas the Plan called for the collectivization of but 20 per cent of the total cultivated area by 1933, before the close of this year the actual achievement was more than 25 per cent. Between November 1, 1929, and May 1, 1930, the number of collectives grew from 67,436 to 82,276, and the number of peasant holdings involved from 1,919,000 to 5,778,000! On the lower Volga region the percentage of farms joining the collectives was 24.8, in the steppe region of the Ukraine 45.4, and in the Northern Caucasus 55.2. At the same time the land brought into the great state farms increased rapidly to embrace 10,500,000 acres. As a result of these various changes in the conduct of agriculture the cultivated area was increased by approximately ten per cent and the total production by about twenty per cent. By the end of November all indications pointed to total grain collections for the year amounting to 21,000,000 tons in place of the 14,000,000 of the preceding year. All of this constitutes an unparalleled accomplishment and will serve no doubt to stimulate the organization of collectives during the third year of the Plan.

In the field of industrial production the developments of the second year were somewhat less spectacular than in the realm of agriculture. Although the Plan, as orig-

inally outlined in its optimum variant, was slightly surpassed, the revised figures were not reached. The plan called for an increase of 21.5 per cent, the control figures for an increase of 31.5 per cent, and the actual accomplishment was an increase of 24.2 per cent over the previous year. This meant that the total output of industry in 1929-30 was approximately double that of 1913. In the case of the production of coal the increase for the second year was 17.6 per cent as against 13.4 per cent according to the Plan. Corresponding percentages for oil were 26.0 and 12.1, for pig iron 24.0 and 22.0, and for rolled steel 14.5 and II.I. The control figures for the year were exceeded in oil, paper, leather and certain other branches, whereas they were not achieved in the coal, chemical, and metallurgical industries. The outlay for capital construction in industry amounted to 3.73 billion rubles in place of the 2.33 billions provided for under the Plan. Even so, however, it reached only 83.1 per cent of the control figures for the second year.

While these achievements are unquestionably remarkable, they failed to reach the level expected. This was due chiefly to the fact that the industrial program slowed down perceptibly during the last quarter of the year. Various incoördinations appeared in the public economy, but perhaps the most important factor of all contributing to the reduction of efficiency was the lowered morale of labor occasioned by mismanagement in the distribution

of food and other commodities. This led to the migration of tens of thousands of workers from place to place in search of better conditions. Great numbers who were still peasants in spirit returned to their homes in the village in order to partake of the abundant harvest.

The most serious deficiencies, however, occurred precisely where they had appeared during the first year. Quality failed to keep pace with quantity. Many plants reported increases in the amount of trash and inferior goods produced. The productivity of labor also refused to advance according to the Plan, and the reduction of costs continued to lag grievously. Thus, whereas the plan called for an 11 per cent lowering of the costs of production, the actual achievement reached a scant 6 per cent. This situation recalls the remark attributed to Colonel Hugh L. Cooper, chief of the American consulting engineers engaged in the building of the great dam on the Dnieper, that the Soviet government may be pushing the program of construction more rapidly than the needed specialists can be trained.

The cultural program scored numerous successes during the second year. There was a marked expansion of all institutions devoted to the preparation of skilled workers, technicians, and engineers; the expenditures on popular education passed well beyond a billion dollars, as compared with \$738,000,000 in 1928-29; the number of pupils in public schools grew from 11,914,500 to 13,-

500,000 within the course of the year; and preparations were made for the introduction of universal compulsory education in the first grade of the primary school during the early part of 1931. The year likewise witnessed large achievements in the attack on illiteracy, in the publication of books, in the spread of libraries and cottage reading rooms, in the widening of the network of radio and cinema stations, and in the extension of medical facilities to the population.

The beginning of the third year was marked by a great outburst of enthusiasm and the raising of the control figures in all branches of economy with the expectation of completing the Plan in four years. Thus during the year 1930-31 industrial production is to grow by 52 per cent, heavy industry by 62 per cent, and light industry by 37 per cent. In the case of agriculture the total seeded area is expected to increase by 12 per cent, the collective farms by 20 per cent, and the state farms by 50 per cent. Similar advances are contemplated in every division of the plan. Such figures of course appear perfectly fantastic and are scarcely justified by the achievements of the first two years. However, during the months of October and November, just as the critics were beginning to prophesy a speedy breakdown of the entire program of construction, owing to the conspicuous decline in production of the immediately preceding quarter, Soviet industry seemed to take on a new lease of life and moved steadily ahead to unexpected

victories. The revolutionary forces today, as in times past, appear to possess an inexhaustible supply of reserve energy. The greater the obstacles the higher rises the wave of resolve and accomplishment. Consequently, while the second year closed somewhat inauspiciously, the third year opened with an extraordinary display of vitality and power.

The first quarter of the third year, known as the shock quarter, saw many changes in important administrative posts, a general campaign for hardening the discipline of labor, and a searching reëxamination of the Five-Year Plan from top to bottom for the purpose of discovering weak spots and the most critical elements in the program. In a word, the country was placed on more of a war basis than ever before. Strong men were appointed to the more strategic positions in the economic system and persons who had failed to get results were ruthlessly shelved or demoted. Also many new shock jobs were created which must be carried through successfully at all costs, even at the expense of slowing down construction on less important projects. Every branch of the economy was scrutinized with a view to distinguishing the essential from the non-essential, the crucial from the less important tasks and undertakings. And in order to improve the morale of labor the foreign trade policy was modified. The export of eggs, meat, canned fish, and other food products was reduced because the troops needed them. The immediate

result of all of these changes was a rapid rise in the efficiency of the *labor army*.

Hopes. The successes of the first and second years of the Plan had a marked psychological effect upon practically the entire population and particularly upon that portion of it which is most intimately identified with the revolutionary movement. When the program of construction was first launched the Soviet leaders must have waited with bated breath for the initial returns. In spite of the opposition of certain of the most respected and influential members of the Party, the majority had selected the more ambitious of the two variants proposed by the Planning Commission. They naturally wondered whether life would vindicate their action. At that time they were quite satisfied with the hope of fulfilling the Plan in the stipulated five years. But, as the results of the first months were followed by others equally favorable, voices began to suggest that the Plan had underestimated rather than over-estimated the possibilities of the country and the energies of the masses. They therefore coined the slogan, The Five-Year Plan in less than five years. And from this they passed on, first, to The Five-Year Plan in four and one-half years and then to The Five-Year Plan in four years. Fed by achievements, hopes have grown until success as originally conceived would be regarded as failure. It is worthy of note that by the summer of 1930 even intelligent foreign observers

in Moscow were beginning to ask seriously whether the Plan could be fulfilled in four years.

The hopes of the Communists, however, are not confined to the period ending in October, 1933. The Planning Commission is already elaborating a general plan for the development of the economy during the subsequent fifteen years. The first variant of this plan was reported in February, 1930. As the reader might expect, the program outlined, which assumes the success of the Five-Year Plan, quite passes the bounds of credence. Among other things it speaks of industrial production mounting nineteenfold by 1940, of an agricultural yield valued at 74 instead of 14 billion rubles, of the complete electrification of industry and the 50 per cent electrification of transport, of 20 million automobiles, and two and one-half million tractors! It also calls for the comprehensive development of new industrial regions, such as the Kuznetz Basin and the Baikal-Angara district in Siberia. The aims of this stupendous plan combined with the Five-Year Plan are given as follows: To overtake and surpass in technology and production the most advanced countries; to fulfill the plan of Lenin and liquidate the new economic policy by 1933; to develop socialistic forms of economy during the current five years; to make thus a gradual transition to more perfect communistic arrangements; and, finally, to build at the end of ten or fifteen years of reconstruction a communistic society.

In the summer of 1929 there issued from the Soviet press a little volume which, if the program of construction proves successful, is destined to take its place among the great Utopias of history. It is entitled, The Soviet Union Through Fifteen Years, and was written by L. M. Sabsovitch, a regular member of the All-Union State Planning Commission. Although it was described as fantastic by his professional colleagues, it immediately went through several large editions and became the subject of much discussion and comment. It differs from all other Utopias ever written in that it supposedly sustains some connection with an already existing society. The author has endeavored to draw in broad outlines the course of the development of Soviet economy during the fifteen years following the period covered by the Five-Year Plan.

In the foreword to the third edition, after reviewing the experience to date, he makes the following statement: This means that by 1943, in the event of the peaceful development of the country, we shall surpass the level of industrial production achieved in the United States of America in 1929 and shall overtake, if we do not significantly surpass, the current level of technical equipment of industry in that country. That such a book should be written at all is in itself sufficient cause for wonder; but that it should be made the subject of serious study by practical men is a most extraordinary social phenomenon. Clearly, either these Soviet economists are riding to one

of the worst falls ever recorded in history or they are going to achieve what men have commonly thought impossible. At present one does not know whether to class them among the writers of fiction or the founders of a new science.

Uncertainties. There are various uncertain quantities in the situation which may greatly influence, if they do not practically determine, the outcome. Take, for example, the uncertainty regarding the behavior of the elements. Until adequate reserves can be built up, a condition which as yet has not been thoroughly achieved, a general failure of crops due to drought or pests might well prove disastrous. Soviet Russia is still eighty per cent rural and must therefore at all times place large dependence on agricultural produce. Today such dependence is peculiarly marked because of the effort being made to industrialize the country. Great quantities of machinery will have to be purchased from abroad, and in the absence of extensive foreign credits the government will have to fall back upon the export of farm products. The success of the second year of the program was very directly dependent on a bountiful harvest.

Equally disastrous would be a foreign war, even a war of the most modest dimensions. It would mean the mobilization on a fairly large scale of both man-power and economic resources for non-productive purposes. Since there is no great surplus of goods in the Union today,

such a mobilization could be achieved only at the expense of definitely sacrificing the program of construction. Certainly the surest possible guarantee of the peaceful intentions of the Soviet government is the fact that war would mean the literal scrapping of the Five-Year Plan. The Communist leaders consequently are entirely in earnest when they show alarm at the appearance of even relatively inconspicuous war clouds above the international horizon. Until their heavy industries are well established they will go to any lengths to keep the peace. Thereafter, of course, it may be a different story.

Another uncertainty which always looms as a possibility is a split within the Communist Party. While there is no reason for believing that such an event is in the offing, rule by dictatorship always faces the danger of rapid and catastrophic dissolution. If the Party should split evenly over some vital issue, the outcome would be almost inevitably the end of the Party as the governing force in the Soviet Union. With the passing of the Party, the author and champion of the Five-Year Plan would relinguish its hold on the rudder of the ship of state. To be sure, the fact that the realities of the situation are universally recognized, greatly reduces the possibility that the division will occur. The Communists know that they must in some way compose their differences or accept the alternative of abdication, arrest, imprisonment, and the firing squad. Such knowledge is a powerful deterrent to

hasty and foolhardy action. Moreover, every success recorded in the realization of the program of construction tends to increase the solidarity of the Party under its present leadership and to improve its standing in the country.

The greatest unknown quantity in the equation probably has to do with human nature. For a hundred and fifty years our economists have told us with a high degree of consistency that the only sound basis for the development of industry is private enterprise and that the driving force back of private enterprise must be personal gain. Soviet economists are building on a radically different foundation. They maintain, moreover, that their adversaries misread human nature and that men, if properly nurtured, will labor quite as strenuously and dependably for social as for private ends. Indeed, they carry the battle vigorously into the enemy's camp and argue that for various reasons collectivism will liberate the energies of the masses far more effectively than capitalism. At the present time, because of the complexity of the problem and the heat generated in the quarrel, the entire question is badly confused. But if the Soviet experiment is allowed to work itself out, a relatively clear answer should be forthcoming within a generation. In the meantime, the student would do well to reserve his judgment. The success of the Five-Year Plan seems to be in the balance. If the traditional and generally accepted views are sound, it should fail.

Liabilities. There are clearly certain elements in the situation which may be classed as liabilities. For example, the low cultural level of the country, to which reference has already been made in several places, is a severe handicap to the achievement of the Plan. At a time when the whole economy is to be expanded at an unprecedented rate, enormous amounts of energy must be devoted to teaching tens of millions of grown men and women to read and write and manipulate simple number combinations. These great masses of Soviet citizens will also have to be taught the rudiments of hygiene, science, and politics. The raising of the cultural accomplishments of the population is in itself a stupendous undertaking. When it is linked with a vast program of economic construction, one is justified in wondering whether the success of both undertakings may not be placed in jeopardy.

Closely joined with the extreme cultural backwardness is the low level of technical skill and knowledge among the population. With a truly pitiful equipment in comparison with the great industrial nations of the West, the Soviet Union sets itself the task of developing the entire economy at a rate which the most advanced countries would never hope to achieve. A people living by means of a primitive agriculture and with almost no general acquaintance with even the simplest types of machinery is seeking to enter completely into the machine age in two or three decades. This undoubtedly is the major

explanation of the failure of Soviet industry to lower the costs of production, raise the efficiency of labor, and improve the quality of goods in accordance with the provisions of the Five-Year Plan. Such achievements must wait upon the slow processes of education and the rearing of a new generation bred in the traditions of industrial civilization.

For the most part the revolutionary leaders, at the time they took over the reins of government, lacked that special training in the technical professions which the building of the new society requires. They were extremely proficient in conducting the fight against the tsar from the prisons and the garrets and the cellars of the world, but they knew little about the building of factories, the construction of railroads, the refinement of metals, and the science of administration. All of these things they have had to learn, and they have been going to school to the capitalistic nations on a large scale. They are sending their representatives by the hundred all over the earth for the purpose of learning the secrets of modern industry and agriculture; and they are bringing similar numbers of foreign technicians to the Soviet Union, there to give of their knowledge and experience in pushing the program forward. But this latter practice is attended by difficulties. Some of these highly paid advisors from abroad have been disloyal to their revolutionary employers; others have become homesick for the comforts of the fatherland and

have resigned their positions. Americans particularly, though the grandsons of hardy pioneers, seem to find it hard to forego the daily bath and subsist on the relatively monotonous diet to which their Russian brothers have become accustomed through the centuries.

Another distinct liability is a certain tradition of inefficiency which seems to pervade the entire economic structure. An unintelligent bureaucracy has reached out its long tentacles to strangle initiative and needlessly to complicate the conduct of business. Almost nothing in the Soviet Union is done quickly and with despatch. Transactions which should require minutes take hours, and transactions which should be handled in hours consume whole days. As a consequence, one of the most common forms of occupation is simple waiting. This is due no doubt in part to genuine incompetence here and there in the staff, but it is also traceable to a failure on the part of the Russian people ever to develop a sense of the value of time. The words for presently and tomorrow, which are often merely devices for the evasion of obligations and the postponement of responsibilities, should be struck from the language. The same should be said of nitchevo, the Russian equivalent for it doesn't matter or I should worry, a sort of verbal scapegoat for all sins of both omission and commission. The Party, however, is keenly alive to the importance of this whole question and is carrying on a continuous campaign by all the means at its disposal

to eliminate the evils of bureaucracy and to raise the efficiency of administration.

The situation is greatly aggravated by the spirit of class struggle which touches practically every phase of life. The manifestations of this spirit are partly the fruit of Marxian doctrines, partly a heritage of the revolt of the intelligentsia during the first years of the revolution, and partly the product of a genuine conflict which still continues at home and abroad between the Soviet government and the surviving remnants of the former ruling groupsmonarchists, landlords, capitalists, and aristocrats. The entire economic and social structure is permeated by an element of suspicion and distrust. On the side of the Communists there is a deep-seated fear lest highly placed members of the technical staff resort to the sabotage of the program of construction. And while they have probably exaggerated and made political capital out of every attempt at counter-revolution, widespread plots to wreck the plans of the new government undoubtedly have been uncovered. The severity and the ruthlessness with which these conspiracies have been put down, combined with the precariousness of the position occupied by all members of the old intellectual classes, have tended to paralyze the will of numbers of technicians and engineers who were identified in some way with the former régime. Feeling themselves distrusted by their proletarian masters, they are unable to give the full measure of devotion to their

work and probably in many instances secretly cherish the overthrow of Soviet rule. Until a new intellectual class has been produced by the revolution, this condition will continue and will constitute one of the most powerful obstacles to success. In the meantime, every member of the old intelligentsia is regarded as guilty until he proves himself innocent beyond any possibility of doubt.

The burdens of the Soviet government, moreover, are not lightened by the expressions of ill will which it encounters throughout the world. This situation no doubt is due in part to historical causes, but it must be traceable in large measure to the challenge which the revolutionary movement throws out to capitalistic society. Also, in various ways the Communists apparently have endeavored to embarrass and irritate the ruling groups in other countries. In this endeavor they have usually succeeded admirably. Thus the anti-religious campaign, though generally misrepresented in the American press, must have postponed considerably the day when official relations will be established between the Soviet Union and the United States. Then, too, no matter what the facts may be, the Soviet government is always regarded as wholly responsible for the actions of the Third International in every corner of the globe. But whatever the cause of the hostility of foreign nations, it is a genuine factor in determining the success of the Five-Year Plan. If large credits could be secured in the money markets of the world, and particu-

larly in the money markets of America, the whole program of construction would go forward much more rapidly and easily. Its effects on international trade also would be much more normal in character.

A by-product of this attitude of the rest of the world toward the Soviet experiment is an extreme scarcity of goods within the Union. Since long-term credits are not available and since great quantities of machinery must be secured from abroad, the export trade is being extended to the very limit. The Union today is sending into the foreign markets every ounce of agricultural produce, manufactured goods, and timber and mineral products that can be spared. While various inefficiencies in administration no doubt have contributed to the goods' shortage which has become increasingly acute during the past year and a half, the fundamental explanation is to be found in the necessity of building up credits beyond the borders for the purchase of machines and the employing of technical personnel. The result is the ever-recurring urge to sacrifice for the future and the increase of dissatisfaction among certain elements of the population. Whether this dissatisfaction will ever reach sufficient proportions to cause the government to moderate the tempo of construction is a question which cannot be answered with certainty. Much depends on the continued productivity of collective agriculture and increase in the size of the harvest.

A final liability which must be reckoned with is the

individualistic tradition of the peasant. While this tradition is much less extreme than among the farmers of America, where each family lives on its own land and looks with a trace of suspicion at the nearest neighbor half a mile away, it is nevertheless a real factor in the situation. As we have pointed out, the Five-Year Plan proposed to bring approximately twenty per cent of the peasants into the socialistic sector of agriculture during the period. As a matter of fact, the stampede into collectives proceeded so rapidly in the autumn and winter of 1929-30 that more than twenty-five per cent of the peasants were affected. But whether the communes will continue over a period of years to produce as efficiently as the individual economy, remains to be seen.

The fact should be kept in mind that in Soviet Russia the scales are being weighted heavily in favor of collective arrangements. The communes are receiving government aid for the purchase of farm machinery; they are being provided with trained leadership in the introduction of modern methods; and they are being given many other advantages in the contest. While it is yet too early to predict the outcome with confidence, the latest reports seem to indicate that collective enterprise is more than holding its own and that it is rapidly becoming established as the basic form of economy in many regions of the Union.

Assets. Placed high among the assets favoring the suc-

cess of the program of construction is a certain courage or daring on the part of the leadership. Some perhaps would call it fanaticism, but the word is too harsh. For, while there is the extraordinary fidelity to purpose which characterizes fanaticism, there is no general disposition to abandon the processes of rational thought. The repudiation of the past was so complete that the slate has been wiped as clean as could be for the building of the new order. A premium consequently has been placed on bold social invention and creative energy has been released on a scale seldom witnessed before in human history. Although many of the innovations introduced by the Communist will, of course, prove sterile, certain of them should be fruitful and serve to demolish powerful barriers to social advance which in other societies, because of inertia or vested interest, effectually block the way. To be sure, the tendency toward the wholesale rejection of practices linked with pre-revolutionary times, on the ground that they are bourgeois, and the too narrow concentration on the cult of the proletariat no doubt will result on occasion in throwing away the good with the bad and in sedulously nursing spurious values. Nevertheless, in order to shift society to a new foundation, if the process is not to consume generations, such risks may have to be run.

If Soviet Russia were the size of Hungary, daring in the leadership would be of little avail—as history clearly proves. An experiment so bold must be defended by great

spaces and must possess enormous natural resources. The Soviet Union has both in abundance. It occupies approximately one-sixth part of the land surface of the globe and is almost three times the size of continental United States. During the period of civil war and intervention this vast area was an invaluable and even indispensable asset. Indeed, if the country had been small in extent, the revolutionary order almost certainly would have been snuffed out within a few months. Then the Union possesses in almost unlimited quantity all of the more important natural resources. While the coal reserves are far inferior to those of the United States, they are sufficient for many generations. In the spheres of soil, timber, peat, oil and certain metals, the Union occupies an unrivaled position. The varied climate makes possible the raising of anything from parrots to polar bears and from cotton to icebergs. If ever a country was equipped by nature to carry on a great social experiment, that country is the Soviet Union. As soon as its heavy industries are established it will be able, if need be, to carry on an independent existence. Within its own borders may be found practically all of the natural products upon which civilization rests.

Inhabiting this wide territory are one hundred and eighty-two different races and peoples. Although many of these racial and national groups are small and without highly developed cultures, the great body of the population of the Union comes from Slavic stock. The potentiali-

ties of any people cannot of course be foreseen; but enough is already known of the Russian Slav to make prophecy unnecessary. The race has shown all of the abilities which are needful in the building of a great civilization, unless it be ability in the field of administration. This ability, however, will no doubt appear as situations arise which call it forth. Certainly, in the great writers and artists of the nineteenth century the Russians showed themselves capable of producing the very first rank of genius. This people, moreover, is unspoiled by civilization: its great creative period lies in the future; obviously it possesses a virility and an inventiveness which certain of the older races seem to have lost. It probably contains the largest reservoir of talent remaining to be developed among the light-skinned races. Therefore it would seem to be an excellent guardian, architect, and builder of a new society.

Then there are the virtues of planning itself which the Soviet leaders regard as perhaps their greatest asset. Through the State Planning Commission they are able to bring their best intelligence to bear upon the problem of the organization and development of their resources. Under this system, so they argue, there will be none of the great wastes of capitalism. Natural riches will be exploited in the light of the abiding interests of all, and not for the purpose of enriching the few by hurried and wasteful methods of production. The discovery of knowledge in the field of industry will proceed according to a general

plan designed to benefit the whole of society, and not in response to the competitive efforts of separate firms, each bent on guarding as precious trade secrets whatever it may learn. There will be no suppression of inventions which purposes to guard private profits at the expense of the general welfare; no industrial crises which periodically shake the economic order and throw millions of workers out of employment; no costly advertising which increases the number of unproductive occupations and stimulates vast numbers of persons to live beyond their means; no idle capital which is a useless burden for society to carry and which is the product of general economic incoördination; no technological unemployment which places the costs of progress on the shoulders of men and women least fit to bear them; no speculation on the stock exchange which consumes credit, takes able men out of production, generates a get-rich-quick psychology among the people, and contributes to the development of the tradition that "only saps work"; no struggles for world markets which turn nation against nation, breed economic rivalries and military conflicts, and threaten to destroy civilization in the holocaust of war.

The Soviet economists maintain that the systematic and intelligent application of modern technology and science to the production and distribution of goods would make possible the complete satisfaction of the economic needs of the population and the abolition of poverty forever. They

contend that with an industrial plant of the same size as ours they will be able to produce three times as much goods as we do. They therefore argue that under their system the making of a living will eventually be pushed into a position of secondary importance and man will be freed to devote his major energies to the development of his cultural and spiritual potentialities. This is certainly an optimistic view, but the possibilities resident in the union of bold social planning with modern technology remain to be explored.

The Communists also contend that one of their greatest assets is the superiority of the moral foundations of the order which they are endeavoring to build. All of the organized forces of society are wrestling directly and unequivocally with the central problems of the masses. Take the case of the Five-Year Plan as an example. If every project outlined there should be achieved, not a single man would make a great fortune, unless he should do so by some form of corruption. Then, if he were discovered, as he probably would be, unless he buried his treasure in the ground or carried it to a foreign country, he would be arrested, tried, and probably shot. The point to be emphasized is that the central object of the vast program of construction under way is to improve the conditions of life of all the people and not to provide opportunities for a few to amass riches. A great nation is organizing to banish poverty, to solve the problem of

unemployment, and to abolish the pauperism of sickness and old age; to reduce the length of the working day, to raise the standard of living, and to place medical facilities at the disposal of all; to wipe out illiteracy and superstition, to make educational opportunities universal, and to bring art into the service of the masses. Under these conditions an honest appeal can be made to the people to bend their energies to the achievement of the program. They can be asked with a clear conscience to sacrifice, and then to sacrifice again. If these thoughts should ever work themselves into the folkways and mores of the population, no one could forecast the power which they would generate in a country as vast as Soviet Russia.

All of these factors working together have already produced a degree of earnestness and spiritual fervor among those elements committed to the revolutionary program that can be matched only in the more profound religious movements of history. The Communists and their followers in the general population are thoroughly convinced that they speak not only for themselves but also for the great masses of men everywhere and even for the generations yet to come. The critic may say that they are mistaken in their faith, but he can scarcely question their honesty or integrity. To be sure, there are in Soviet Russia today millions who are indifferent and yet other millions perhaps who are embittered; but those who are imbued with the revolutionary tradition are confident that

their ideas will conquer the world. In the severe trials of the present they are upheld by the unfaltering conviction that time itself fights in their ranks and that by some happy stroke of fortune they have become the instruments of mankind's greatest struggle for freedom. These men and women know that the Five-Year Plan will succeed and are prepared to give the last ounce of their energies to the achievement of the goal.

CHAPTER XIV

EDUCATION AND SOCIAL PLANNING

NE of the greatest assets of the Soviet régime in its attempt to achieve the Five-Year Plan is the relationship between education and social planning. If this relationship possesses the strength that the Communists attribute to it, then the chances of success are excellent. If, on the other hand, it should prove to be too slender a reed to support the weight placed upon it, then not only will the more immediate program of construction fail but the effort to build a socialistic society within the course of a single generation will also collapse. Clear realization of this fact is no doubt at the root of the interest in the cultural revolution which has become increasingly marked since the launching of the plan. The disciplined enthusiasm of the youth, which is everywhere apparent, suggests that the confidence of the Communists in the power of education has not been altogether misplaced.

While no attempt will be made here to place a final appraisal on the partnership between the system of public

enlightenment and the planning organs, the way in which education has been affected by the relationship will be briefly indicated. That the influence has been very great must be clearly apparent already to the reader of the present volume. The Russian experiment challenges the American educational tradition at many points; but it is the principle of social planning more than anything else that gives to Soviet education its unique character and distinguishes it most fundamentally from education in the United States. Scarcely a single phase of practice or theory has escaped the impress of this principle: it has left its stamp on the purpose, the organization, and the support of education; it has affected the content of the curriculum, the methods of instruction, and the position of the teacher; it has raised in acute form a number of basic considerations regarding the question of indoctrination, the nature of freedom, and the integration of culture. An examination of each of these aspects of the problem will make clear the nature of the relationship between education and social planning and at the same time will bring into focus the more striking and characteristic features of the Soviet educational program.

The Purpose of Education. The general purpose of education in Soviet Russia has remained unchanged since the Bolsheviki seized power in 1917. That purpose is the building of a new society—a society which gives expression to the five great controlling ideas of the revolutionary

movement. Throughout the entire range of educational institutions a systematic effort is made to change the very character of the people inhabiting the Union: to rear a generation steeped in the abstruse doctrines of dialectical materialism, imbued with the ideas of collectivism, internationalism, and equality between the sexes, and thoroughly committed to the application of science to the problems of social life and particularly to the organization and development of the public economy. This definition of purpose, however, preceded the founding of the State Planning Commission and might exist quite independently of any attempt at social planning, unless the rational ordering of life is implied in the idea of collectivism.

The contribution of the Five-Year Plan lies in the fact that it has given definite content and meaning to the very general formulation of purposes generated by the revolutionary forces. Prior to 1928 teachers and pupils in the schools talked fluently, unceasingly, and monotonously about building a new social order; but the actual outlines of that order remained vague and unsubstantial. They were merely repeating with variations the militant slogans of the historic days of 1917 and the subsequent years, when army clashed with army, every hour was fraught with peril, and victory depended on the intensity of human loyalties. Following this early period and before the planning organs had begun to function on a large scale, the revolutionary movement seemed to halt for a time and

to quail before the great tasks of construction. The "program of great works" has banished this sense of bewilderment, put genuine content into the Soviet ideals, and given precise direction to the tasks of education. It has defined the building of socialism in terms so clear and unequivocal that even the most simple-minded can understand.

The inevitable consequence of this concrete and comprehensive formulation of purposes was a marked increase in the social significance attached to education. Institutions specially devoted to the training of the young could no longer be regarded as a sort of adventitious interest of the state. On the contrary, the major responsibility for the promotion of the common welfare and the attainment of the accepted social ends was placed squarely upon them. This means that education became at once a central concern of society and a matter of vital importance to practical men. To the latter it now seems quite as essential as industry or government or the military defense of the country. It is therefore neither a luxury nor a frivolity, but a necessary and serious function of the community: it has to do with the main business of living.

The harnessing of education to a great program of construction has also affected the work of the schools in another direction. The ideal of promoting individual success, which is so characteristic of education in the United States, is almost entirely absent in the schools of the Soviet Union. The wide gulf that divides the two systems is

nowhere more apparent than at this point. In Russia, emphasis is always placed on service to the group, while in America the driving motive of education seems to be personal advancement. This contrast is strikingly shown in the graduation exercises in the higher institutions of the two countries. In the United States the completion of a special course of study is commonly celebrated by extending congratulations to the individual on his past achievements and on the opportunities which lie ahead; in Soviet Russia, the corresponding circumstance is made the occasion for felicitating society on the number of trained persons added to its staff. Individual success is completely subordinated to the ideal of serving the state and through the state the working class.

The Organization of Education. If the educational institutions are to function effectively in the building of the new order and the fulfillment of great plans of construction, they must be held faithful to the ideals of socialism and kept under the direct control of the revolutionary forces. This aim is achieved by a marked degree of centralization in each of the constituent republics. While local authorities have considerable freedom in the adjustment of programs to community needs and conditions, there is firm and widespread insistence on complete and unquestioned loyalty to the revolution.

More significant, however, than administrative centralization within the system of education, as important as

that may be, is the all-pervasive and mighty influence of the Party and the Communist societies for children and youth. The members of these organizations are everywhere—in the schools, in the universities, in the libraries, in the theaters, in the publishing houses, in the trade unions, in the planning bodies, in the military forces, in the organs of government—and, although they may not always be capable of passing judgment on the strictly professional phases of education they are more or less well-qualified to appraise the political and social bearings of what is done. The result is a general uniformity of outlook and program throughout the republic.

This uniformity extends to the entire Union and embraces the several constituent republics. Although, as we have seen elsewhere, each of the republics is theoretically autonomous in educational and cultural matters, the autonomy is largely illusory. Each has its own commissariat of education and certain characteristic features, but for the most part the differences which exist are relatively unimportant: they involve the form rather than the substance of the educational program. And the demands of the Five-Year Plan are tending to destroy or at least diminish even these small differences. This is true particularly in the realm of occupational preparation. From the standpoint of meeting the need for specialists in the Union as a whole, it is decidedly inconvenient to have to calculate in terms of different modes and institutions of train-

ing. It is difficult, moreover, to coördinate the activities of the various commissariats of education, each more or less jealous of its own prerogatives, and to distribute responsibilities among them. Consequently there is already a powerful movement under way looking towards the more complete unification of the educational institutions of the Union.

More significant than the centralization of authority is the scope of the educational program—a feature of Soviet practice which was elaborated in Chapter V of this volume. The responsibility for the building of the new order and for the realization of the Five-Year Plan rests not only on the schools, but also on the press, the library, the book store, the museum, the theater, the cinema, the radio, the army, and a host of other institutions. The work of all of these agencies is coördinated and made to point in a single direction.

The Communists have thus fashioned the most powerful instrument of agitation, propaganda, and education known to history. If the feasibility of their purpose, which involves a relatively severe break with the past, be granted, the method employed would seem to be sound. But whether the Soviet program proves successful or not, it constitutes a most interesting commentary on the extreme and naïve faith in the school which generally prevails in America. Russian educators, having brought under their control approximately all influences capable of organiza-

tion, are not entirely confident that they will be successful in the struggle with the forces of tradition which lie beyond the reach of institutional forms.

The organization of vocational and professional education is profoundly affected by the practice of social planning. In the first place, the question of the founding and location of the appropriate institutions is decided in the light of the need for specialists and the geographical distribution of the various branches of the public economy. That institutional autonomy which prevails so generally in America is entirely absent. A new vocational school of any kind is established only when and where it is needed. In the second place, the number of persons being prepared for each calling is supposed to bear a fairly intimate relation to the need. There is no disposition on the part of Soviet educators to regard the unlimited extension of all forms of education as desirable. They also believe that in the interests of economy the individual should follow as a rule the occupation for which he is trained. In a word, the entire program for the preparation of specialists is carefully planned to meet the calculated needs of society.

The Support of Education. The support of education is made a social or public responsibility to a peculiar degree. Following the lead of the more advanced nations of the West, the Soviet government has made the operation of practically all educational institutions a charge upon the

state budget. But it has also gone much further. In the sphere of occupational preparation, which embraces all forms of higher education, it has adopted the principle that when the individual begins his course of training, he really enters the calling and should therefore receive compensation for his services. At present, because of the relative poverty of the country, this principle has not been fully applied and the so-called maintenance allowances provided are in many cases inadequate. The Five-Year Plan, as we have seen, contemplates a very large development in this area. In time, presumably all persons preparing for vocations and attending the higher schools will be supported entirely by the state.

The necessity in a planned economy of providing maintenance stipends for persons preparing to become specialists is obvious. In such an economy the securing of the needed types and numbers of technical and professional service cannot be left to chance or to the slow and wasteful process of adjusting an unknown supply to an unknown demand. The success of the Five-Year Plan, for example, is clearly dependent on the preparation of an adequate number of specialists in the different fields. But society would have great difficulty in fitting the program of training to the need, if it possessed no lever of control. The maintenance grant provides the desired lever. By changing the number and size of the stipends offered in a given specialty, the educational authorities, following in-

structions from the planning organs, are able to alter quickly and at will the flow of students into the various occupations.

Another important object of the maintenance grant is to change somewhat the status of the so-called professions. In capitalistic countries, partly because of the long period of preparation involved during potentially productive years of life, these occupations tend to be monopolized by the more favored classes. Since the number of persons trained is thus severely restricted and since a large part of the cost must be borne by the recipients themselves, the compensations of professional service are raised far above those of most other callings. The result has been that in the case of medicine, to take a single instance, the fees are almost prohibitive for great masses of the people. The Communists therefore have adopted the principle of supporting the individual in training, not only because of their commitment to social planning, but also because of their interest in wiping out social and economic differences among the occupations and in lowering the direct costs to the population of various forms of professional service.

The immediate effect of this method of financing the preparation of specialists, combined of course with the program of planning, is the introduction of an extremely serious note into the universities and technical schools. The student is made to feel under heavy obligation to society

for the opportunities which he receives. This is particularly true of those more mature representatives of the working class who have been brought into the higher schools in selected groups since the launching of the plan. While the ordinary Soviet student is probably somewhat less well prepared, from an academic standpoint, than his predecessor under the tsar, his definiteness of purpose, his sense of responsibility, and his knowledge that a position awaits his successful completion of the course, give him certain advantages. In some instances the feeling of social obligation is so strong that young people, keenly aware of their own deficiencies, hesitate to accept invitations from the government to study in foreign countries. They fear that they might fail to achieve all that is expected of them and that others might be better qualified for the task. At the same time they are no less eager than their brothers and sisters in other lands to see strange peoples and cultures.

The Content of Instruction. The way in which social planning affects the content of instruction is already apparent to the reader. The existence of a definite social program gives to the problem of curriculum construction quite a novel aspect. In the United States, where no such program exists, there is perpetual floundering between mechanical analyses of social activities and vague philosophical speculations. There is also much talk about meeting social needs, but no clear indication of the precise nature of

those needs. The effort to discover needs by methods very similar to those employed in locating a gold mine or finding a lost child has met with very little success. The great service rendered to education by the Soviet planning organs is that of giving unequivocal pronouncements on what the needs of society are during both the immediate and the more distant future. While the Five-Year Plan does not itself constitute the curriculum of the educational institutions, it leaves its impress upon every aspect of the program of studies by giving concrete definition to the goals of the educative process. The provisions of the plan, the entire subject of planning, and the more far-reaching aims of the revolution, all receive continuous attention in the work of the educational agencies. According to the Russian point of view, a public school in a society without a social program would seem to be something of an anomaly.

This raises the question of the relation between social planning and the sentiment of patriotism. Apparently the breadth of this sentiment in any society is very largely a function of the social program. If that program is narrow, then the urge to civic loyalty must be equally limited in its incidence. Thus in America, where war is practically the only great undertaking in which society as a whole engages, patriotism tends to be identified with the bearing of arms against a foreign foe. In the Soviet Union, on the other hand, since society as a whole is bending its

energies to the task of achieving a gigantic program of peaceful construction, patriotism has come to embrace, not only the defense of the country, but the promotion of every item in the Five-Year Plan: the building of factories, the construction of railroads, the organization of farm communes, the improvement of the harvest, the rationalization of industry, the mechanization of agriculture, the raising of the efficiency of labor, the lowering of the cost of production, the reduction of the length of the working day, the abolition of unemployment, the increase of wages, the enlargement of medical facilities, the extension of the system of social insurance, the liquidation of illiteracy, the introduction of universal primary education, the development of all types of schools, the training of the needed engineers, physicians, and other specialists, the expansion of the press, the theater, and the cinema, the spread of atheistic propaganda, the moderation of the consumption of vodka, the fostering of progress in the arts, and the stimulation of scientific research. This widening of the conception of civic loyalty constitutes one of the most significant effects of social planning on education. How the sentiment of patriotism is to be divorced from its historic association with the military spirit, if no proper substitute be provided, is very difficult to imagine.

Methods of Instruction. The foreign student who visits the Soviet schools is impressed from the first with the

activity of the children. They participate in the conduct and government of the school; they often take some part in the selection of their teachers; they discuss methods of instruction with a high degree of seriousness; they engage in a great variety of undertakings in the community; and in general they lead an eager and active life. The initial conclusion usually drawn is that the Soviet schools are patterned after the progressive schools of Europe and America. As a matter of fact, nothing could be farther from the truth. In both instances there is great emphasis on activity, but in the schools of Russia it is activity with a purpose; it is activity with a strongly collectivistic bias; it is activity devoted to the promotion of the welfare of the surrounding community; it is, in a word, to a very large degree, socially useful labor.

The launching of the Five-Year Plan, as we have seen, has not only affected the content of the more formal and traditional branches of instruction, but it has given direction and deepened the significance of this socially useful labor. Both the school and the pupils have been brought squarely into the center of the social picture and saddled with obligations pertaining to the program of construction. From the earliest years boys and girls are encouraged to feel the same responsibility for the general social welfare that they have commonly felt for their individual families in the past. The connection between education and society, moreover, is being fostered not only in the

village, where it would seem to be most feasible, but in the urban community. The educational possibilities of industry and every phase of institutional life are being thoroughly explored.

This particular development of Soviet education may be made clear by a reference to the situation in the United States. A generation or two ago, when relatively simple agrarian conditions prevailed generally in America, the child was expected to participate actively and according to his strength and understanding, in all of the family undertakings. In this way he received the major part of his social and moral training. Today, with the spread of the urban and industrial culture, the child is becoming increasingly separated from life: he is carefully protected from industry; he has little to do in the home; and even if he goes to a progressive school he finds that the activities in which he engages lack social significance. Labor of value to the group has been a major means of education throughout human history. One naturally wonders whether a sturdy and steadfast character can be developed without it. In Soviet Russia the union of social planning with a collective economy is apparently making possible a far more intimate and natural relationship between education and society than exists under private capitalism.

The Position of the Teacher. In a famous passage, Lenin enunciated as follows the theoretical position of the Communists regarding the relation of education to politics: "The more cultured was the bourgeois state, the more subtly it deceived, asserting that the school can remain outside of politics and thus serve society as a whole. In reality the school was wholly an instrument of class domination in the hands of the bourgeoisie; it was permeated throughout with the spirit of caste; and its aim was to give to the capitalists obliging serfs and competent workers."

The implication of this statement is that the dominant class in every society succeeds by one means or another in bending the school and all other educational agencies to its will. In Soviet Russia this principle is applied frankly and thoroughly to the entire program of education and to the whole range of scientific and cultural institutions. The dictatorship of the proletariat rules in the realms of education, science, and art no less than in the spheres of economics and politics. The Communists defend their position on the grounds that they speak for the overwhelming majority of the people and thus stand on a higher moral plane than any other governing class of history.

This means that the doctrine of academic freedom, as it is defined in the West, is completely repudiated. The Soviet leaders do not admit that the doctrine has ever been concretely and fully applied in any country. They argue that wherever contrary claims have been advanced both teachers and scientists, with perhaps a small number

of individual exceptions which receive attention out of all proportion to their importance, are brought into line through the operation of numerous subtle but powerful influences. The great majority of those occupying the more important positions are drawn from the favored classes and the remainder through association gradually take on their point of view. Being unconscious of the forces that mold them they think themselves free and feel outraged at every suggestion to the contrary. Occasional recalcitrants are socially ostracized, denied promotion, and, if they prove unusually obdurate, dismissed for some good reason. The total effect therefore is that almost the entire intellectual class in every society serves the existing order.

Teachers and scientists in Soviet Russia are expected to be wholly loyal to the revolutionary movement and to place their talents at the disposal of the organized and articulate proletariat. The application of this principle, however, does not require of them complete acquiescence in prevailing conditions. Quite the contrary is demanded in fact. They are under obligation to expose without mercy all deficiencies in the present order, provided their criticism does not question the wisdom of the leadership of the Communist Party or the essential soundness of the revolutionary ideals. In other words, whereas criticism of ways and means is generally welcome, criticism of the accepted goals or systems of value is treason to the working class.

The amount of freedom extended to the individual teacher or scientist depends upon his personal history and his specialty. Anyone who was ever identified in the slightest particular with the former ruling classes or with dissenting groups under the new order must watch his utterances with the greatest of care. A single false step may mean dismissal or even arrest. On the other hand, anyone whose proletarian ancestry is unblemished and whose fundamental loyalty has never been called into question is practically free to say whatever he pleases. In this second group fall most of the members of the younger generation who have grown to maturity since the revolution and are therefore a product of Soviet education. Persons working in the natural and exact sciences are also subjected to a much milder scrutiny than teachers of civics, economics, sociology, and philosophy.

Even freedom of research is considerably curtailed in Soviet Russia. In the field of the social sciences, in particular, considerable pressure must be exerted on the investigator to find results which are favorable to the Communist theory of society and human nature. But more important than this perhaps is the effort to coördinate the work of scientists and to organize research according to a carefully developed plan. Here again the needs of society tend to over-ride the interests of the individual. Although much depends on the politics, the achievements, and the professional standing of the particular scientist

involved, the expectation is that inquiry will be conducted in those areas and on those problems which are most crucial from the standpoint of the program for the development of the country. The probability that a powerful personality will dominate a branch of science by his own special interests and thus determine the course of research for an entire generation is much smaller in Russia than in the United States. While the Soviet practice may result in a more moderate rate of advance in certain directions, it should render almost impossible the complete neglect of important divisions of a given science.

The resultant effect on the social position of the teacher of all of these factors is extremely difficult to gauge. Which elements in the situation are the necessary concomitants of a planned economy and which flow from conditions that are purely temporary in character and are destined to pass away with the stabilization of the new order, are questions that cannot be answered with confidence today. At the present time many teachers and scientists who grew to maturity under the old régime and who are more or less out of harmony with the revolution must feel themselves severely coerced by various restrictive influences. On the other hand, great numbers unquestionably are inspired by the thought of participating directly in the building of the new society. Even though they may not accept the entire philosophy of communism, they are thrilled nevertheless by the contemplation of the program

of construction under way and by the expectation that the fulfillment of this program will lift their country into a position of great power and influence among the nations of the world. Their work in the schools and scientific institutions is given a social significance that can scarcely be matched in capitalistic countries. The least imaginative among them are able to see the relation of their own work to the whole. Therefore they must experience something akin to the emotion which comes to all peoples in time of war—the feeling that whatever they do, however small it may seem when measured against some absolute standard, is of transcendent worth because it contributes to the success of a vast social undertaking.

The Question of Indoctrination. The entire program of education in Soviet Russia raises in a very acute form the question of indoctrination. The visitor from capitalistic states, and particularly from countries with liberal traditions of long standing, like England and America, is certain to feel himself in rebellion against this systematic effort to impress the doctrines of communism upon a whole people. The advocate of progressive education from the West tends to react even more powerfully. Having been indoctrinated with the idea that any attempt to mold the child according to a pattern is essentially sinful, he sees the children inhabiting one-sixth part of the land surface of the globe being subjected to this very process. The thing, moreover, is being done with such zest and sys-

tem and intelligence that it has already been attended by a high degree of success. Little wonder that even the most stout-hearted disciple of democracy quakes at the prospect of witnessing in another generation two hundred million people singing the *Internationale*, chanting the dogmas of Marx and Lenin, and bent on making the world safe for communism.

As a matter of fact, the Communists are doing today with modern technique and methods only what has been done many times before. They are endeavoring with all the power and resourcefulness at their command to insure the survival, propagation, and vindication of the ideas for which they have fought and which they cherish above all else. Abstract truth, whatever that may mean to the man who lives more or less detached from the world, means nothing to them. Indeed, it means no more to them than it does to a one hundred per cent American, a member of the Ku Klux Klan, or a devout convert of any religious cult. They are convinced that they have been vouchsafed a special insight into the universe and that they are under a heavy obligation to make this insight prevail over its rivals and in the face of great odds. The Soviet leaders are behaving precisely as people have always behaved who have felt themselves in possession of a priceless spiritual heritage. When men hold beliefs they would die for, as in Russia today, they insist on impressing those beliefs on their children. Any other course would be unthinkable.

A major reason for our theoretical opposition to indoctrination is found no doubt in the fact that we live in a skeptical age—an age of disillusionment. The conclusion which is often drawn, however, that this age has come to remain forever, seems excessively naïve. There have been ages of skepticism before, but they have always been followed by ages of faith. And there is no sound reason for inferring that ages of faith may not return ages in which men will be moved by ideas to the most heroic sacrifices. In such ages, if they should come again and if genuine differences in loyalties should appear, society will be shaken to its foundations, flaming passions will fire the hearts and sear the souls of men, deep chasms dividing brother from brother will appear in the social order, wide gaps between generations will turn son against father,7 and any discussion about the evils of the indoctrination of children will be regarded as the merest twaddle. Soviet Russia seems to be living through such an age today. No man of sensitive mind can remain long in the Union without feeling himself in a veritable furnace of the world where the elements composing human society are in a state of fusion and new principles of right and wrong are being forged. Under such conditions the commonplaces of American education sound like faint voices from a distant and mythical land.

⁷In the Shakta trial of the autumn of 1928 and in the trial of the eight engineers in the autumn of 1930, a son publicly repudiated his father and asked that his parent be given the extreme penalty for betrayal of public trust.

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In this connection the point should be made that our generation in America has not actually experienced the creation of any great social or religious faith. We therefore have no first-hand knowledge of the process. What faiths we hold, even though somewhat lightly, such as Christianity and democracy, were formed by our ancestors generations and centuries ago. We have received them therefore without thought or emotion through our mother's milk and from the very atmosphere we breathe. In the Soviet Union the situation is quite different. A great rift in the historic tradition has occurred. Or rather we should say, perhaps, that society is being shifted to new foundations. Consequently, an educational theory which may be suited to conditions in the United States, where life is relatively tranquil and untroubled by great issues, may be utterly incongruous in Russia where the entire social order is in rapid and fundamental transition. Moreover, a theoretical formulation which may be entirely appropriate today, either in America or in Russia, may be out of place in both countries in another generation. Only intellectual obscurantism can come from the doctrine that there is but one sound educational theory and that that theory is good for all times and circumstances.

Before condemning Soviet practice out of hand on the grounds of indoctrination, the student would do well to consider for a moment the limitations of experimentalism in both the social and the educational realms. When stated

in the abstract this theory takes on the guise of complete reasonableness and provokes a sympathetic response in the mind of every thoughtful man. Who, for example, could take exception to the doctrine that in the field of social relationships, as in the sphere of natural phenomena, conclusions should always be held tentatively and that the intellect should never be closed to the new revelations which come from experience? The difficulty arises out of the fact that new revelations are created as often as discovered and the further fact that in social experimentation the materials of the experiment must at the same time give it direction. If all members of society were to stand aside and view the social process with the composed gaze of the scientist, there could be no genuine test of proposals.

If the great ideas of the Soviet experiment are to be put to the proof, millions of citizens within the Union must believe in them. They must believe in them so passionately that they will find the very meaning of life in the struggle for their fulfillment. Suppose, for example, that the members of the Communist Party should suddenly withdraw from the revolutionary movement and assume the detached manner of a biologist studying the processes of reproduction among the paramœcia. Obviously the experiment would immediately terminate and the fruitfulness of the ideas involved would never be known. Back of every great venture of mankind there

must lie a supreme act of faith. In the world of human relationships certain things will be found true only if men believe them true from the beginning and are prepared to make every sacrifice to prove them so.

A word should be said regarding the relationship between indoctrination and the evolution of culture. It is one of the truisms of anthropology that the individual born into a particular group gradually takes on its mental and behavior patterns. He learns to speak its language, to use its implements, to accept its taboos, to obey its elders, to adopt its tastes, to cherish its traditions, and to worship its gods. In a word, within a few short years he becomes a loyal member of the group. This seems to be equally true in the more primitive and the more advanced societies. A Chinese, a Frenchman, or an Englishman, unless he passes long periods of his life among other peoples, shows the unmistakable imprint of his particular culture. Whether this process is systematically governed and directed through the centralized control of educational institutions, as in the case of the Frenchman, or is left more to the unorganized forces of society, as in the case of the Englishman, does not seem to be a matter of much importance. Certainly the native of Britain is no less an Englishman because he is shaped by a legion of natural and cultural influences which play upon him without conscious coördination from the first day of his birth. Also, that he is superior to the rest of mankind

by reason of the anarchic character of his education is an assertion which hardly would receive universal endorsement.

In the case of Soviet Russia, the distinguishing feature is not that the child is imposed upon by his elders. This happens wherever human culture has appeared. It is rather that the process is being done more methodically and consciously than ever before, that a most extraordinary break is being made with the past, and that the whole undertaking is being engineered by a small minority of the population. Of these considerations the most important pertains to the cultural break with the past and should be left to the anthropologist. The objection to the others, at least in the case of the ordinary representative of capitalistic society, is usually but a cloak for opposition to the ideas of communism. Certainly, if some faction should wrest the reins of power from the Bolsheviks and should then proceed to employ the same methods in teaching the sacredness of property rights and the essential soundness of parliamentary institutions, there would be little protest from the Western democracies.

If the suffering entailed by the sudden cultural break be discounted, the major question raised by the experiment would seem to pertain to the content of the new tradition and of the social program on which Soviet children are being nurtured today. To the extent that this content is narrow, and certainly much of it would fall under that

category, the result no doubt will be mischievous from both the social and the educational point of view. This, however, is by no means the whole of the story. The revolutionary movement embraces much that is rich and challenging in the best sense of the word. The idea of building a new society along the lines developed by the Communists should provide a genuine stimulus to the mind and liberate the energies of millions. It is certainly no worse than the drive towards individual success which permeates not only the schools but every department of culture in the United States. If one were to compare the disciplined effort of the Soviets to industrialize the country, to socialize agriculture, to abolish poverty, to banish disease, to liquidate unemployment, to disseminate knowledge, and generally to raise the material and spiritual level of the masses, with the selfish scramble for wealth and privilege, the cruel disregard of the less sensational forms of human suffering, the relative absence of a sense of social responsibility, the reluctance to come honestly to grips with the major problems of the time, and the apparent decay of the political, ethical, and religious life in America, one would find small grounds for complacency. Whatever may be said on the other side concerning the regimentation of opinion and the restriction of individual freedom, there exist in Soviet Russia today an idealism and a driving passion for human betterment which contrast strangely with the widespread cynicism of the United

States. It is only natural that this idealism and this passion should sweep through the schools as well as through the rest of the social order.

The Nature of Freedom. The association of education with social planning and the building of a new society also raises the question of the nature of freedom. The present generation has witnessed the rise of a powerful movement in American education to exalt the interests of the pupil and to base educational theory and practice on the nature of the child. The champions of this movement have argued very cogently that any attempt to shape the educative process constitutes an imposition of adult standards upon the child and is therefore undesirable. Although this argument may rest in part on psychological grounds, its major appeal is to the right of the child to freedom. Obviously Soviet education is moving in a very different direction. Yet Russian educators also love to speak in the name of freedom.

This apparent conflict may be traced to several causes. The immediate concern of the Communists is freedom for the working class rather than freedom for the individual. They would even maintain that the liberation of the masses will be possible only if personal freedom in certain directions is strongly curtailed. Consequently they would have no patience whatsoever with the kind of freedom often advocated in the progressive schools of America. Such freedom, in their opinion, is not the

freedom of nature, as its proponents argue, but the freedom of the gifted, the privileged, and the powerful. Its fruits will be, not socially minded persons sensitive to injustice and devoted to the welfare of the community, but self-centered egoists absorbed in their own affairs and quite ready to exploit legally their less fortunate brothers and sisters. The Russians would contend further, that the only kind of freedom which any individual should have, outside the realm of purely personal matters, is the freedom to serve the group. From each according to his strength and to each according to his need, is the principle on which they are endeavoring to build.

Soviet educators would take issue even more fundamentally with the American advocates of freedom for the child. They would brand as the most brazen of counter-revolutionary ideas the notion that the pupil should be encouraged in the belief that his own impulses are sacred and have a sort of natural right to expression. They would contend that this doctrine could produce no kind of freedom worth having. On the contrary, they are convinced that the individual who forms the habit of following his own impulses sells himself into slavery and dwarfs his own soul. The free man is he who loses himself in a great cause or in the service of others. This of course is the counsel which for centuries certain religions have given to men in quest of happiness. And anyone who has lived much must feel the force of the argument. Certainly, un-

less a society can provide for education a sounder and more generous guiding principle than that of following the interests of the child, that society is morally and socially bankrupt. Such a condition can only mean the practical absence of any robust ideal or moving purpose in life. Is it too much to say that when a society has reached this stage it is on the road to decay? We in America may not care to adopt the philosophy and program of the Communists, but unless we face the basic problems of human living with equal honesty and courage we shall do well to suspend judgment and learn what we can from the Soviet experiment.

At yet one other point the conception of freedom pervading Soviet education differs from our own. According to the Russian leaders, if there is to be freedom in industrial society, except for the plutocracy, it will come as a result of the planning and the general coördination of life. In other words, the mere assertion of freedom will not bring it into being. In the pre-industrial era, to be sure, when life was simple and the small family group was practically self-sufficient, freedom was essentially a matter of the abolition of external restraints imposed by bandits, despots, and distant governments. But today, because of the growth of the corporate life, liberty is no longer a natural state to be preserved by negation: it must be created and maintained by collective action. This means that men must combine increasingly not only to preserve order,

but to perform the ordinary social functions. At least society as a whole must accept sooner or later the responsibility for satisfying the basic economic needs of the population and for establishing a condition of general material security for all. In a world where great masses of people live in dire poverty and the grim specters of sickness, unemployment, and old age perpetually hover in the background, there can be no genuine freedom. These evils can be laid to rest in industrial society only through organization and by placing definite limitations on the exercise of certain forms of freedom characteristic of historic capitalism.

Soviet educators likewise would take issue with the American predilection for adapting the work of the school to the conditions of a changing civilization. Here is revealed one of the deepest conflicts between the two societies: a conflict which revolves about the question of social planning. Students of education in the United States are continually saying that society is changing with great rapidity, that it will change more rapidly in the future than it has in the past, that no one has more than the slightest inkling of what these future changes will be, and that the central function of education is to produce an agile mind capable of adjusting itself quickly and effectively to new situations. Although the Communists realize that they are living in an exceedingly dynamic world, they by no means surrender themselves to the on-

ward sweep of the machine age and the general drift of civilization. On the contrary, they believe that the evolution of human institutions, even in the modern era, is subject to some measure of control and that within limits society may be molded to their desire.

The Integration of Culture. The rise of industrial civilization in the West has set in motion two contrary tendencies of profound significance. On the one hand, it has produced the Great Society of Graham Wallas which brings into increasingly intimate embrace all the peoples of the world and makes of a vast country like the United States a single closely knit community. The differentiation of economic function has caused individuals, neighborhoods, regions, and even whole nations to specialize in the production of goods and to become ever more dependent on one another. This has been made possible, not only by the growth of industrial science, but by the development of new modes of transportation and communication which, by shortening distances and destroying geographic barriers, have made possible the rapid exchange of thoughts and commodities. On the side of social structure and material culture, therefore, contemporary society exhibits an extraordinary degree of integration.

This appearance of external unity, however, belies the actual situation. It serves merely as a cloak to conceal a condition of essential discord and conflict. In the realm of the spiritual culture, outside the sphere of natural science,

the age of the machine has produced nothing comparable to the majestic sweep of the ocean liner, the concentrated power of the dynamo, the daring flight of the airplane, the god-like attributes of the radio, the towering walls of the skyscraper, or the gossamer web of finance. As one contemplates these matchless gifts of technology, one can only lament the trivial uses to which they are so commonly put. Industrial society in its present form is a monster possessing neither soul nor inner significance. It has succeeded in destroying the simpler cultures of the past but has failed to create a culture of its own worthy of the name. Its various members either live in isolation or are at war with each other. Ethics, which should bring order and harmony into life, wanders along the lonely paths of the past; art, which should give its magic touch to every human undertaking and relationship, secludes itself in studios and museums; and religion, which should interpret the universe and define the goals of living, timidly refuses to enter the modern world and grapple with reality. Whether this state of moral chaos is the temporary maladjustment of a transition epoch or the inevitable product of a society organized for private gain is one of the most crucial questions of our time. Unless industrial capitalism can go beyond the production of material things and meet the spiritual needs of men, it cannot and should not endure.

Although travelers to Russia very generally come away
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with the opinion that the Soviet experiment is concerned almost exclusively with economic considerations, such an opinion would hardly seem to be in harmony with the facts. It no doubt rests primarily on certain obvious and little understood aspects of the revolutionary movement: the propagation of dialectical materialism, the campaign against historic religion, the program of industrialization, the extraordinary interest in machinery, the supreme devotion to science, and numerous prejudices and half-truths which have spread through the world since 1917. It seems entirely possible that history may prove this early judgment incorrect. The educational achievements to date are stupendous; and, in the degree that success is attained on the economic front, attention probably will be directed increasingly to satisfying the nonmaterial wants of the people. When Soviet citizens speak of the cultural revolution, they are not using idle words. Nor are they practicing deception on the foreign observer. The cultural revolution is a genuine and growing thing which in time is certain to react upon and influence the character of the whole experiment. The making of the new man is a favorite subject for discussion in the press, on the platform, in the schools, and everywhere among teachers, members of the Party, and the more active elements of the population. Today in village, town, and city may be seen a rapidly rising stream of youth reared on the ideals, the hopes, and the achievements of the revolution. The

new man is already appearing on the broad steppes of ancient Russia. Sturdy, confident, class-conscious, socially-sensitive and practical-minded, he bears little resemblance to the Slav of history.

The last chapter in the little book for children by Ilin on The Story of the Great Plan is devoted to the subject of New People. Among other things is raised the question as to the purpose of the program of construction. The author asks: "Why have we begun this tremendous work which will last not five years, but fifteen or twenty years or even longer? Why do we mine millions of tons of coal and ore? Why do we build millions of machines? Do we do all of this merely to change the world about us?" And he answers: "Certainly not! We change the world in order that people may live better." Then in another division of the chapter he gives positive development to the idea: "After all, man is not just muscle; he is not a machine. He has a mind that wants to know, eyes that want to see, ears that want to hear, a voice that wants to sing, feet that want to run and jump and dance, hands that want to row and swim and throw and catch. And life must be so organized that not only a few lucky ones but all may feel the joy of life. After socialism is achieved there will be no dwarfs, no people with tired pale faces, no children reared in basements without air and sunshine. Healthy, strong giants, redcheeked and happy—such will be the new people."

This cultural revolution possesses a single mighty integrating principle—the building of a new society in which there will be neither rich nor poor, in which the mainspring of all industry will be social need rather than private profit, in which no man will be permitted to exploit another by reason of wealth or social position, in which the curse of Eden will be lifted forever from the soul of woman, in which a condition of essential equality will unite all races and nations into one brotherhood. Although the cultural applications of this principle often assume crude and exaggerated forms, as in the case of Proletcult and the censorship of art, it is nevertheless authentic and vital. There is consequently in the Soviet Union today a sensitiveness to the more fundamental human wrongs and a passion for social justice that simply cannot be matched in any other quarter of the globe. A devotion to the common good and a deep interest in the oppressed of all lands penetrate and color every aspect of the cultural life of the country. That the pursuit of the goal may often be blind and unintelligent during the current period of stress and experimentation is only to be expected. The school, the press, the theater, the cinema, and life generally in Russia are full of excesses and of imbecilities and of sound conceptions poorly executed. But back of it all, even the excesses and the imbecilities, there stands a great and challenging ideal which the rest of the world cannot continue to ignore and which may in time serve to bring art, science, and

philosophy into essential harmony. In the meantime, the leaders in American industry, politics, and thought, instead of dissipating their energies in the futile attempt to erect barriers against the spread of Communist doctrines, would do well to fashion an alternative program of equal boldness and honesty to discipline the energies and humanize the spirit of industrial civilization.



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